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# INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF SEX-ECONOMY AND ORGONE-RESEARCH

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE  
FOR SEX-ECONOMY AND ORGONE-RESEARCH

DIRECTOR: WILHELM REICH, M. D.

EDITOR: THEODORE P. WOLFE, M. D.

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*Love, work and knowledge are the well-  
springs of our life. They should also govern it.*

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FROM THE ORGONE AND CANCER RESEARCH LABORATORY

## THERMICAL AND ELECTROSCOPICAL ORGONOMETRY

The Discovery of the Orgone, Part 2\*

By WILHELM REICH, M.D.†

### CONTENTS

#### Introduction

#### V. Measurements of the atmospheric orgone

1. Temperature differences
2. Demonstration by measurements with the static electroscope
3. Quantitative determination of the orgone

#### INTRODUCTION

In the first part of this report † I related how I discovered the orgone energy and how it can be made visible. In the present report I shall describe the methods of quantitative measurement of the orgone by means of the electroscope and the thermometer. In the course of this presentation, we shall meet not only fundamentally new facts of physics but also some peculiar relationships between the orgone and weather formation. The results here presented have been checked now over a period of 4 years.

#### I. TEMPERATURE DIFFERENCES

The metal walls of our orgone accumulator are "cold." If we hold our palm or tongue at a distance of about 10 cm from the wall, we feel, after some time, *warmth* and a *prickling* sensation. On the tongue, we perceive a salty taste. If we put a thermometer in the same place (or, better,

above the top of the accumulator), and a second thermometer outside of the accumulator, we find to our surprise a difference of  $0.2^{\circ}$  to  $0.5^{\circ}$  C. as compared with the room temperature.

This can *not* be "heat" radiated by the walls of the accumulator. We do not understand this fact; we have to become accustomed not to want to understand individual findings outside of their context. Once we have found a significant connection between two or more findings, we are able to form a bit of theory. Whether that theory is correct or incorrect, complete or incomplete, can only be shown in the course of further work. If the theory is correct, it will inevitably lead to new findings and new connections. If it is wrong, it will inevitably lead into a wrong direction.

Since the temperature at the metal wall is lower than at some distance from it, the warmth which we feel at our palm and which the thermometer registers can-

\* Translated from the manuscript by the Editor.

† Cf. "The Discovery of the Orgone," *This Journal* 1, 1942, 108-130.

not be heat as such radiated by the wall. There are, indeed, no sources of heat at or behind the wall, within or under the accumulator. We have to venture an assumption and see where it leads us.

As we know, radiation in general consists of *moving energy particles*. Let us assume for the present that the cold metal walls of the accumulator radiate or reflect energy. We must make the following assumption: When we put our hand or a thermometer at a distance of, say 6-10 cm from the wall, we *stop* the movement of the energy particles. *The stoppage changes the kinetic energy of the particles into heat which causes the feeling of warmth at the hand and the objective temperature rise at the thermometer.* This assumption is in accord with the physics of any radiation; for example, the stoppage of the electrons in an X-ray tube, as they fly from the cathode to the anticathode, produces heat and light phenomena.

For our experiments, we build a small orgone accumulator. Six iron sheets of 1 square foot are built into a cube (cf. fig. 1, p. 3). At the outside of the top sheet we put a cylinder of about 15 cm length into which we can introduce a thermometer. A hole beside it makes it possible to read the temperature *within* the box. In order to insulate the inside of the cylinder against the influence of the room temperature, we surround the cylinder with cotton or another material with low heat conductivity. In addition, we screen the cylinder with a glass lampshade. No organic substance should be placed between thermometer and the metal surface.

The idea behind this experimental set-up is the following: The energy particles *within* the box are being thrown from metal wall to metal wall. They are being stopped on all sides. Since heat ascends, any possible temperature rise will be most readily registered above the top metal sheet. There must be a *temperature difference* between the enclosed air in the

cylinder above the accumulator on the one hand and the rest of the room on the other. Let us call the temperature of the air in the room  $T$ , that of the cylindrical space  $T_0$ . If our assumptions are correct, the temperature difference ( $T_0 - T$ ) must be *positive and always present*.

Measurements over a number of days reveal a temperature difference between  $0.2^\circ$  and  $1.8^\circ$  C. Measurements taken several times a day over a period of weeks reveal an arithmetic mean of about  $0.5^\circ$  C. Since the box contains no constant source of heat, the temperature difference can be due only to the stoppage of the radiation. Let us summarize what we have learned thus far about the orgone energy:

1. Organic substances absorb the energy.
2. Metallic substances reflect it.
3. Stoppage of the kinetic energy by any metallic obstacle results in a temperature rise.

This calls our attention to an error in the construction of the box. The metal walls reflect the energy and the heat to the *outside* as well as to the inside. So, in order to provide an insulation against the surrounding air, we cover the metal box with organic material such as cotton. To hold this in place we surround it with a second box of plywood or celotex. The inside of the box is made accessible by a door in the front wall.

*The outside of the apparatus consists of organic material, the inside of metallic material.* Since the former absorbs the energy while the latter reflects it, there is an *accumulation* of energy. The organic covering takes up the energy from the atmosphere and transmits it to the metal on its inside. The metal radiates the energy to the outside into the cotton and to the inside into the space of the accumulator. The movement of energy toward the inside is free, while toward the outside it is being stopped. Thus it can oscillate freely on the inside, but not to the outside. In addition, part of the energy given

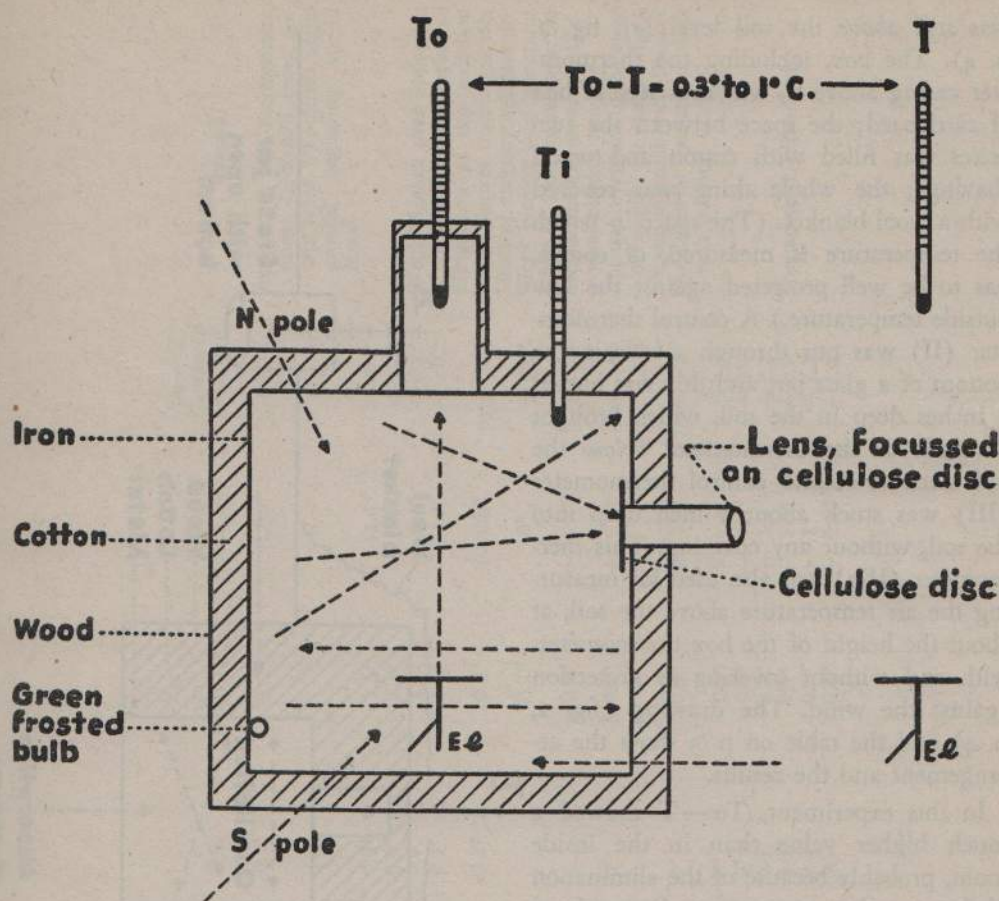


FIG. 1. Basic design of orgone accumulator. Section.

$T_o$  = temperature above accumulator;  $T_i$  = temperature within accumulator;  $T$  = control (temperature of air in room).

El = electroscope. ————— = direction of radiation. Size: 1 cubic foot.

off by the metal toward the outside is absorbed by the cotton and given back to the metal. In which manner the energy penetrates the metal we do not know. All we know is that it *does* penetrate it, for the subjective and objective phenomena are far more intensive within the apparatus than on the outside.

After covering the metal with organic material we find that the temperature difference  $T_o - T$  is *more constant* and also *greater*, other things being equal. *We have built an accumulator which confines and concentrates the orgone.*

As a control, we make the same experiment with a box of the same size built of wood or cardboard only. We soon find

that in such a box, temperatures are completely equalized: the temperatures are the same everywhere. The temperature differences appear only when the box is lined with metal on the inside.

*Orgone measurement in the open air.* During the summer months of 1940, I kept a small orgone box partly buried in the ground in my garden. There was a constant temperature difference. But not until the following February did I find out how much greater was this difference than that found in the closed room. On February 15, 1941, a sunny day with a strong cold wind, I buried an orgone box to the depth of two-thirds of its height in the soil. Thus the box thermometer (I)

was still *above* the soil level (*cf.* fig. 2, p. 4). The box, including the thermometer casing above it, was in a second box of cardboard; the space between the two boxes was filled with cotton and wood shavings; the whole thing was covered with a wool blanket. (The space in which the temperature is measured, of course, has to be well protected against the low outside temperature.) A control thermometer (II) was put through a hole in the bottom of a glass jar, and this was buried 4 inches deep in the soil, which brought the bulb of the thermometer *below* the soil level. A second control thermometer (III) was stuck about 1 inch deep into the soil, without any covering. This thermometer (IIIa) was also used for measuring the air temperature above the soil, at about the height of the box thermometer, with and without covering as protection against the wind. The drawing (fig. 2, p. 4) and the table on p. 5 show the arrangement and the results.

In this experiment,  $T_o - T$  showed a much higher value than in the inside room, probably because of the elimination of the secondary organotic radiation from walls, table tops, etc. *In the open air and without sun, the difference was about  $+2^\circ \text{C}$ .*

In order to make doubly sure, I continued the experiment overnight and during the following day, from February 16th to February 17, 1941, in the following manner: I left the apparatus in the open air without the blanket, that is, I let it get completely cooled by the low night temperature. At 9.30 A.M. on February 17th, the air temperature was  $-1^\circ \text{C}$ ., the soil temperature  $0^\circ \text{C}$ . I put the cold blanket back on the apparatus and introduced the thermometer which had just registered an air temperature of  $-1^\circ \text{C}$ . into the cylinder on top. Soon it registered  $+2.3^\circ \text{C}$ ., while the air temperature remained at  $-1^\circ \text{C}$ . and the soil temperature at  $0^\circ \text{C}$ .

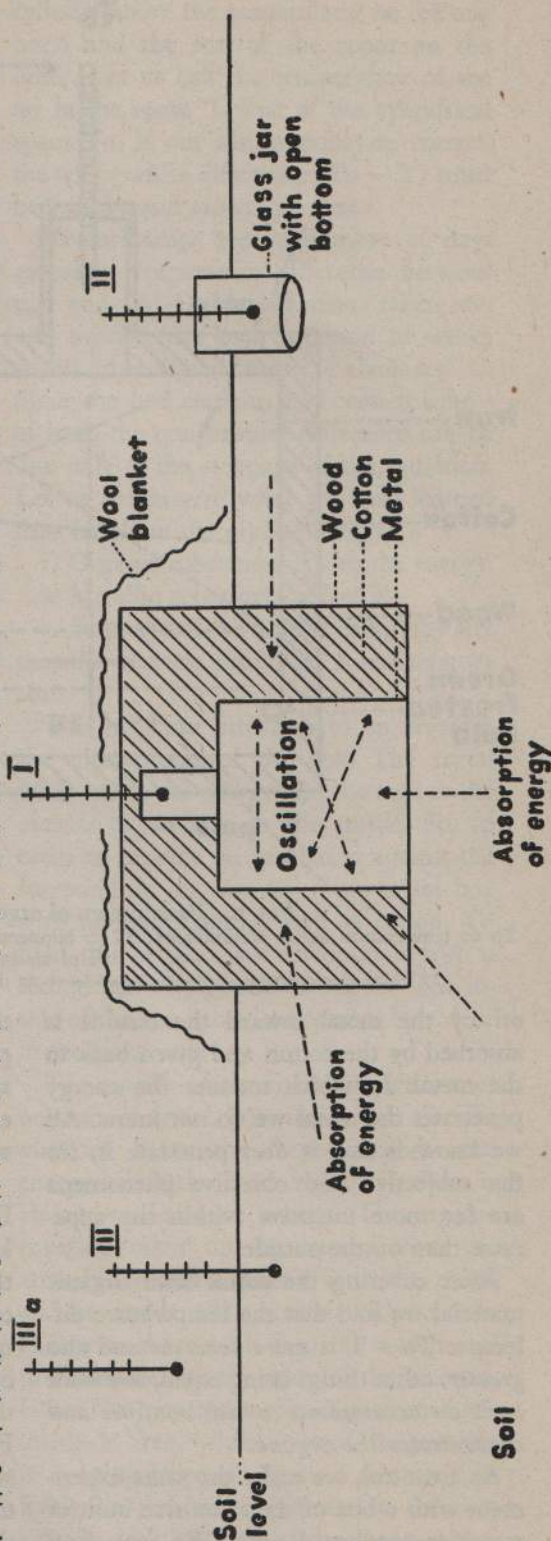


Fig. 2. Measurement of  $T_o - T$  in the open air.

Reading No.	Weather	Time 2-16-41	Air		Soil	Air in Glass Jar	T-Orig Above Soil	To—T Compared with Air	Remarks
1	Clear; cold wind	12.30 P.M.	Free 3.6°	Pro- tected 5°	0.5°	1.5°	11.6°	+ 8°	Apparatus, with thermometer, under cardboard cover, except front. Two-thirds under ground, beginning at 12 Noon
2	Clear; cold wind	1 P.M.	3.4°	4.6°	0.3°	1.5°	11.4°	+ 8°	Wool blanket over apparatus Wool blanket over apparatus Elimination of sun radiation Wool blanket over apparatus Effect of freezing temperature Wool blanket over apparatus Effect of freezing temperature Measurements interrupted; wool blanket removed
3	Clear; cold wind	1.45 P.M.	2.1°	3.5°	0.4°	1.3°	9.5°	+ 7.4°	
4	Apparatus in shade	2.30 P.M.	0.3°	0.6°	0.4°	1.3°	6.5°	+ 6.2°	
5	Apparatus in shade	3.30 P.M.	0.2°	0.3°	0.3°	1.3°	2.9°	+ 2.7°	
6	Apparatus in shade	4 P.M.	— 0.6°	0.6°	0.2°	0.4°	+ 0.6°	+ 1.2°	Wool blanket over apparatus
7	Freezing temperature								Wool blanket over apparatus
8	Apparatus in shade	5 P.M.	— 0.9°			0.2°	0°	+ 0.9°	Wool blanket over apparatus
9	Freezing temperature	12 P.M.	— 2.1°			— 0.4°	+ 1.7°	+ 1.7°	Effect of freezing temperature
	Cloudy	2-17-41	— 1°	— 1°	0°	+ 0.7°	+ 1.8°	+ 2.8°	Measurements interrupted; wool blanket removed
10	Heavy snowfall	9.30 A.M.	— 1°	— 1°	0°	0.9°	+ 2.3°	+ 3.3°	Apparatus remains in the open overnight; in the morning again covered with blanket
11	Heavy snowfall	11.30 A.M.	— 0.9°	— 0.9°	0°	0.7°	+ 1.3°	+ 2.2°	Thermometer exchanged with each reading
12	Heavy snowfall	12.15 A.M.	— 0.7°	— 0.7°	0°	0.7°	+ 1.3°	+ 2°	
13	Heavy snowfall	1 P.M.	— 1°		0°	0.7°	+ 1.2°	+ 2.2°	
14	Heavy snowfall	2 P.M.	— 1.1°		0.3°	0.7°	+ 1.2°	+ 2.3°	Thermometer exchanged
15	Heavy snowfall	3 P.M.	— 1.2°		0.2°	0.6°	+ 1°	+ 2.2°	
16	Heavy snowfall	4 P.M.	— 2°		0.1°	0.2°	+ 0.5°	+ 2.5°	

The air within the buried glass jar showed  $+0.9^{\circ}\text{C}$ .

These findings are unequivocal<sup>1</sup> and show the following:

a) *The soil and the atmosphere contain an energy which is thermically measurable in our apparatus.*

b) The energy is measurable in high values only with the use of a *definite arrangement of materials*. That is, in order to obtain an *increase* in the temperature difference ( $T_o - T$ ), one must use organic material on the outside and metallic material on the inside.

This experiment also shows the significance of the arrangement of materials in connection with the radiation of the soil and the sun. When the influence of the sun radiation is eliminated by shade, the difference  $T_o - T$  decreases, compared with all control measurements, from an average of about  $+5^{\circ}\text{C}$ . to an average of about  $+2^{\circ}\text{C}$ . The glass-covered control thermometer, which is exposed only very little to the soil orgone radiation, shows a difference of only about  $1^{\circ}\text{C}$ . The orgone accumulator—thus far the most efficient apparatus for the concentration of the orgone energy—shows far higher values, that is, *more than*  $+2^{\circ}\text{C}$ .

The temperature *decrease* in the open air due to the low night temperature shows in the box in spite of the insulation. Nevertheless, the difference ( $T_o - T$ ) remains constant within certain upper and lower limits because of the *parallel* drop of  $T_o$  and  $T$ . Observations during about 3 hours showed the following:

<sup>1</sup> This particular experiment was done in order to refute a certain objection which had been raised. A physicist tried to explain the temperature difference at the accumulator by "heat convection from the room ceiling to the table top." He failed, however, to check his interpretation of the temperature difference by simply measuring it *in the open air and in the soil* where there cannot possibly be a "heat convection from the room ceiling to the table top." If one does so, one finds that there is a consistent temperature difference which varies only with the weather.

$$\begin{array}{rcl} T_o & = & 11.4^{\circ} \\ T_{\text{air}} & = & 4.6^{\circ} \\ \hline T_o - T & = & 6.8^{\circ} \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{rcl} T_o & = & 9.5^{\circ} \\ T_{\text{air}} & = & 3.5^{\circ} \\ \hline T_o - T & = & 6.0^{\circ} \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{rcl} T_o & = & 6.5^{\circ} \\ T_{\text{air}} & = & 0.6^{\circ} \\ \hline \end{array}$$

$$T_o - T = 5.9^{\circ}$$

Summary of experimental results:

1) The apparatus described shows, under all circumstances, a **temperature difference** between the thermometer above the apparatus and the control thermometer, in the absence of any constant source of heat of any known nature.

2) Measurements in the open air demonstrate a radiation from the soil which, depending on different arrangement of materials, manifests itself in varying differences of temperature.

The temperature difference in the open air varies with the intensity of the sun radiation and with the hours of the day. On sunny summer days, differences up to  $20^{\circ}\text{C}$ . are not rare. (It goes without saying that the orgone thermometer is never exposed to direct sun light).

The thermometric measurement of the soil orgone radiation can be done in various other ways. One only has to know the basis of comparison. One can compare  $T_o$  with  $T_{\text{air}}$  or  $T_{\text{soil}}$ . The  $T_o$  of the air is different from the  $T_o$  of the soil. Similarly, it makes a difference whether we measure inside a vertical orgone tube without a metal plate or above such a plate in the tube. The diagrams (cf. fig. 3, p. 7) illustrate a few methods of measuring the temperature difference.

Summarized, the results are the following:

In a metal tube, the temperature increase is greater above a metal cross-plate than without such a plate.

During rainy weather, the temperature differences are minimal or altogether absent.

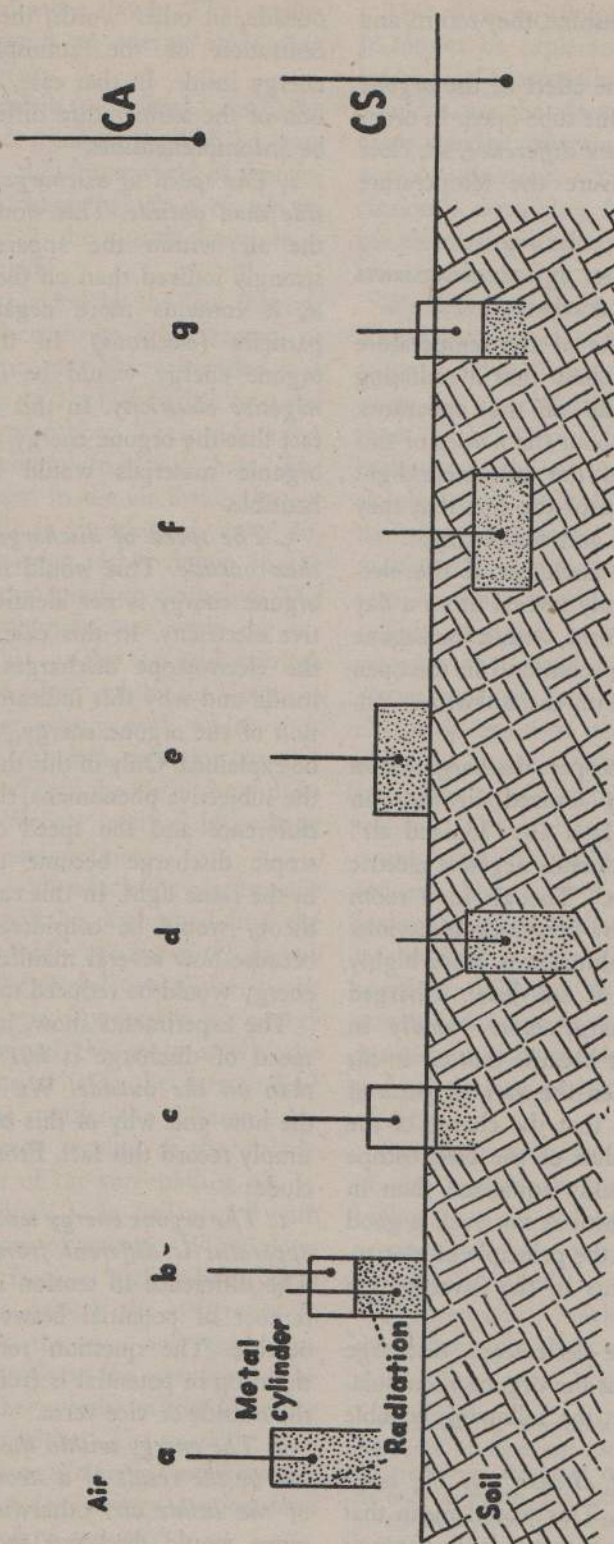


FIG. 3, a-g. Different methods of measuring  $T_0$  —  $T$  in the soil and the atmosphere.

With intensive sunshine, they return and reach high values.

In order to get the effect of the *orgone radiation*, we leave the tube open. In order to get the *temperature difference*, we close the tube and measure the temperature above the plates.

## 2. DEMONSTRATION BY MEASUREMENTS WITH THE STATIC ELECTROSCOPE

The measurements of the temperature difference  $T_o - T$  show that a radiating energy works inside of the apparatus. They say nothing about the *nature* of this energy. Neither do the subjective light phenomena, in spite of the fact that they are very impressive and convincing.

We measure the discharge of the electroscope systematically several times a day over a period of months, within the orgone accumulator, in the room and in the open air. This is done with the following considerations:

Charged electroscopes discharge *more rapidly* in strongly ionized air than in weakly or non-ionized air. "Ionized air" means air which contains negative electric units, or "electrons." The air in a room can be "ionized" by Xrays or ultraviolet rays. Air at high altitudes is more highly ionized than air at sea level. Charged electroscopes discharge *more rapidly* in strongly ionized air because that air forms a conductor between the various parts of the electroscope so that the charge of the metal walls and that of the electroscope leaf are more quickly equalized than in non-ionized air which is not such a good conductor. This is the principle of electroscopic measurements in the investigation of cosmic rays.

In measuring the electroscopic discharge within and without the orgone accumulator, we may expect the following possible results:

1. *The speed of discharge is the same inside and outside.* This would mean that the charge in the apparatus is the same as

outside, in other words, there is no concentration of the atmospheric orgone energy inside. In that case, the phenomenon of the temperature differences would be incomprehensible.

2. *The speed of discharge is greater inside than outside.* This would mean that the air within the apparatus is more strongly ionized than on the outside, that is, it contains more negative electrical particles (electrons). In that case, our orgone energy would be *identical with negative electricity*. In this case, also, the fact that the orgone energy is absorbed by organic materials would be incomprehensible.

3. *The speed of discharge is less inside than outside.* This would mean that our orgone energy is *not* identical with negative electricity. In this case, the fact that the electroscope discharges more slowly inside and why this indicates a concentration of the orgone energy, would have to be explained. Only in this third case would the subjective phenomena, the temperature difference and the speed of the electroscopic discharge become understandable in the same light. In this case, our orgone theory would be considerably advanced, because now several manifestations of the energy would be reduced to *one* principle.

The experiments show, in fact, that the speed of discharge is *less on the inside than on the outside*. We shall postpone the how and why of this observation and simply record this fact. From this we conclude:

1. *The orgone energy tension within the apparatus is different from that outside.* The difference in tension indicates a difference of potential between inside and outside. The question remains whether the drop in potential is from the inside to the outside or vice versa.

2. *The energy within the apparatus cannot be the result of a stronger ionization of the inside air;* otherwise, the electroscope would discharge more rapidly in-

side, instead of more slowly. That means that the energy is an energy *other than negative electricity*.

Equally rapid or more rapid discharge within the accumulator would be easy to explain in the framework of known theories. A discharge which is *slower* on the inside than on the outside, however, is difficult to explain.

Here we are aided by the fact that we charge the electroscope from cotton or cellulose or from our hair (provided it is dry) by means of a cellulose disk or a rod of polystyrene or rubber. These substances take up the energy from our hair. The energy is present in the air inside the apparatus as well as outside, only in a *different concentration*, as is shown in the difference in the speed of discharge. The electroscope communicates with the air through the disk at the top and through holes in the casing, while the latter is grounded. The energy with which it is charged from the sun radiation or our body is given off into the air in the process of discharge. We are justified in making the following assumption:

The energy with which the electroscope was charged will be discharged into the air *the more rapidly the lower the energy tension is in the air* relative to the charge of the electroscope. Conversely, the energy will be discharged the more slowly the higher the tension is in the surrounding air, that is, the smaller the difference between the energy tension of the electroscope and that of the surrounding air.

This assumption is in full accord with the general laws of energy: Water flows all the faster from a higher basin to a lower one the greater the difference in height between the two, and vice versa. The speed depends on the steepness of the drop, or, in other words, on the difference in energy of position. The metallic plate of the electroscope *discharges more quickly into air with a low energy tension than into air with a high tension.*<sup>2</sup>

This characteristic of our energy is new. It cannot be explained by the theory of ionization. Electrically highly charged air would cause the electroscope to discharge more rapidly. Therefore, *our energy cannot be electricity*. This inevitable conclusion is disturbing, for an energy which has electroscopic effects and yet is not electromagnetic energy sounds implausible.

We have to check another objection: The spontaneous discharge of the electroscope is slower within the apparatus because the air circulates more slowly in it than in the open air. Consequently, the exchange of the air ions takes place more slowly inside, and this is the reason for the slow discharge; therefore, the phenomenon is explained by the theory of ions, in other words, electricity.

This objection is easy to check. We measure the speed of discharge of the electroscope in the open air. Then we charge it again to the same mark and make the air around the electroscope circulate more rapidly with the aid of an electric fan. The experiment is then repeated in the room. We find that the fan does *not* influence the speed of discharge. The difference in speed of discharge, then, cannot be ascribed to the circulating air. The speed of discharge depends *only on the atmospheric orgone tension*. This tension is determined by the density, or concentration, of the orgone particles per cubic unit of air.

Our observations show the concentration of the energy in the apparatus to be higher than in the open air. The term *accumulator of atmospheric energy* is therefore justified.

Theoretically, enclosed electroscopes should not lose their charge. The fact remains that even enclosed electroscopes

<sup>2</sup> I am trying intentionally here to explain the difference in speed of discharge on the basis of the traditional theory of the potential difference. As will be shown in a different context, another, purely biophysical interpretation does better justice to the facts.

show a spontaneous discharge. This is what the physicists call the "natural leak" and ascribe to the humidity of the air. *Thus what we measure is really the phenomenon called "natural leak."* We do not try to seal the air in the electroscope hermetically against the outer air; on the contrary, we let it intentionally communicate with the outer air. We determine just that phenomenon which the physicist, in measuring the effect of some electrical radiation, attempts to exclude, and which, to the extent to which he fails to exclude it, he subtracts from the effect. The spontaneous discharge of the electroscope which takes place "for no known reason" is nothing but the normal effect of the atmospheric orgone.

Another objection which might be raised is this: The inner metal walls screen the inside of the accumulator against the effect of radio-active substances; it is for this reason that the electroscope discharges more slowly inside than outside. This objection is refuted as follows:

1. The phenomenon (slower discharge inside) as well as the temperature difference, is present everywhere, no matter where we place the apparatus. It is more than unlikely that "radio-active substances" are present *everywhere*.

2. If the phenomenon were due to radio-active substances on the outside of the apparatus, the discharge would be more rapid in a simple wooden box than if this wooden box is screened with metal plates on the *outside* against radio-activity. In reality, it is slower and not more rapid under these conditions. This refutes the objection and is a further proof of the correctness of our interpretation.

### 3. QUANTITATIVE DETERMINATION OF THE ORGONE

As we have seen, the orgone energy expresses itself in temperature differences and in differences of electroscopic discharge. These facts can be made the basis

of *quantitative* orgone measurements. To begin with, we define the unit of orgone energy, *one Org*: This is the amount of orgone energy in a space of 1 cubic foot which corresponds to the maintenance of a temperature difference ( $T_o - T$ ) of  $1^\circ$  C. for 1 hour, according to the formula

$$1 \text{ Org} = (T_o - T) \cdot t \cdot f^3.$$

( $T_o - T = 1^\circ$  C.;  $t = 1$  hour;  $f^3 = 1$  cubic foot).

The *amount* of orgone energy, i.e., the number of orgone energy particles in a unit of space (Org), has to be distinguished from the *orgone tension* (Op). We shall call 1 Op that atmospheric orgone tension which in the time unit of 1 hour ( $T$ , 60  $t$ , 3600") decreases the charge of an electroscope by the amount of one unit ( $E_o - E_r = 1$ ).

If one Op (Atm) designates the unit of the atmospheric orgone tension,  $E_o$  the charge of the electroscope,  $E_r$  the remaining electroscope charge after reading, ( $E_o - E_r$ ) the amount of discharge, and  $t$  the time in hours, then

$$\text{Op} = \frac{t}{E_o - E_r} = 1$$

is the formula for the atmospheric orgone tension in the open air. The Op *within* the orgone accumulator we differentiate by appending the sign "accu." Op can also be directly expressed in hour-Org, minute-Org or second-Org, depending on whether a unit of charge is discharged in an hour, minute, second or multiples thereof:

1 hour Op	=	60 minute-Org (60'o)
0.75 Op	=	45 minute-Org (45'o)
0.5 Op	=	30 minute-Org (30'o)
0.25 Op	=	15 minute-Org (15'o)
0.16 Op	=	10 minute-Org (10'o)
0.1 Op	=	6 minute-Org (6'o)
0.05 Op	=	3 minute-Org (3'o)
0.015 Op	=	1 minute-Org (1'o)
0.0025 Op	=	1 second-Org (1''o)

If, for example, one unit of electroscope charge is discharged in 30 minutes, then Op is:

$$Op = \frac{0.5 (t)}{1 (E_o - E_r)} = 0.5, \text{ or, } Op = 30' \text{ org.}$$

If, for example, the total charge of the electroscope  $E_o = 5$  Org (the equivalent of 630 volts) is discharged in 20 minutes,  $Op$  is:

$$Op = \frac{0.33 (t)}{5 - 0 (5 E_o - 0 E_r)} = 0.066, \text{ or,}$$

$Op = 4'$  Org, that is, 4 minute-Org.

Whether one prefers one or the other method of calculation is merely a matter of convenience.

The orgone charge of the electroscope can also be expressed in electrostatic units. An "electrostatic unit" equals about 300 volts. We charge an electroscope with energy from our hair so that the electroscope leaf is deflected  $45^\circ$  or  $90^\circ$ . We can produce the same effect by applying an electric current of high voltage to the electroscope. *One unit of orgone charge then corresponds to that voltage which is necessary to produce the same deflection of the electroscope leaf.* We find in this way that by stroking our hair softly only *once* we can take off energy amounts of hundreds of volts.

The instrument which was used in these measurements is a static electroscope with aluminum leaf. The volt calibration in the laboratory of the Radio Corporation of America showed the following values:

Scale Divisions	Volts	
1	135	approximately 45 volts per scale division
2	180	
3	225	
4	270	
5	330	approximately 60 volts per scale division
6	390	
7	450	
8	510	
9	570	approximately 100 volts per scale division
10	630	
11	730	
11½	780	

In our experiments, we always charged the electroscope from our hair up to the *tenth* scale division, that is, with an amount of energy equivalent to about 630 volts. We then let it discharge to the air two scale divisions, that is, the orgone equivalent of about 120 volts. *Two scale divisions (8 to 10) correspond to 1 orgone charge unit, that is, the equivalent of 120 volts.* If the electroscope, after being charged to the tenth scale division, that is, with an orgone energy equivalent of 630 volts, discharges within 1 hour (60 minutes) 1 Org (= 120 volts), the orgone tension ( $Op$ ) of the surrounding air is 1 hour- $Op$  or 60 minute- $Op$ . In other words, the electroscope discharged into the air 2 volts per minute.

We determined 1 Org by the constant *temperature difference* ( $To - T$ ) in an accumulator of 1 cubic foot in the course of 1 hour. In the *electroscopic* measurement we determine 1 Org as the equivalent of 120 volts. We do not know yet whether these two different determinations of the unit 1 Org are equivalent. The parallel course of the curve representing  $To - T$  and that representing the atmospheric orgone tension ( $Op$   $Atm$ ) seems to indicate that this is so. A definite answer to the question will require further research.

I would like to present the results of a few measurements which show interesting facts about the orgone tension in the atmosphere and about the relationship between the atmospheric tension and the tension in the accumulator. Many details here still require intensive work over a long period of time, but the essential points are clear. Fig. 4, p. 12, shows four superimposed orgone tension curves. " $Op$   $Atm$ " is the curve of the daily variations in atmospheric orgone tension, always measured at noon. " $Op$  Room" describes the daily variations of the orgone tension in the room in which the orgone accumulator was kept at the time of these meas-

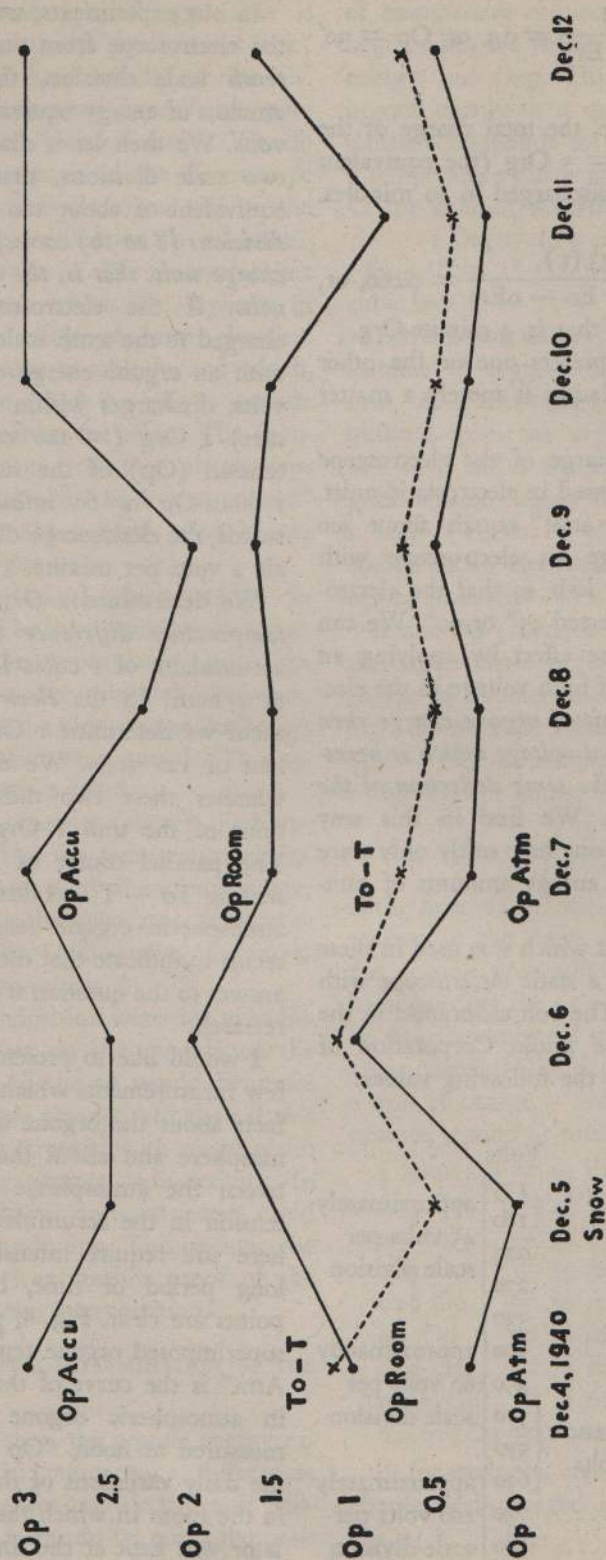


FIG. 4. Measurements of the atmospheric orgone in the open air, in the orgone accumulator and in the orgone room, and To — T.  
(Op 1 corresponds to  $To - T = 1^{\circ}C.$ )

urements. The third curve, "Op Accu," represents the variations in orgone tension within the accumulator, measured between 12 and 1 P.M. The fourth curve (broken line) is the curve of the temperature difference (To-T) at the orgone accumulator, measured daily between 12 and 1 P.M., from November 29, 1940 to December 22, 1940, in an accumulator of 1 cubic foot, and beginning December 24, 1940, in an accumulator of 25 cubic feet (2' x 2,5' x 5') built for therapeutic experiments with humans. (For reasons of space, only a section, covering 9 days, is reproduced in fig. 4, p. 12).

The curves show the following:

1. The tension curve of the room (Op Room) is, expressed in minute-Org, higher than that of the atmosphere; that of the accumulator (Op Accu) is higher than that of the room and that of the atmosphere (Op Atm). That is, *the energy concentration is highest in the accumulator.*

2. The curve of the temperature difference (To-T) runs *more or less parallel* to the tension curve of the atmospheric orgone (Op Atm).

3. The increase of tension in room and accumulator occurs *roughly one day after* the increase in atmospheric tension.

4. The atmospheric tension is *low on days with rain and snow, and high on days with sun.* The atmospheric tension varies between about 0 and 1. One or two days before rain or snowfall the atmospheric tension curve drops more or less sharply; the temperature difference curve also drops before or at the time of rain.

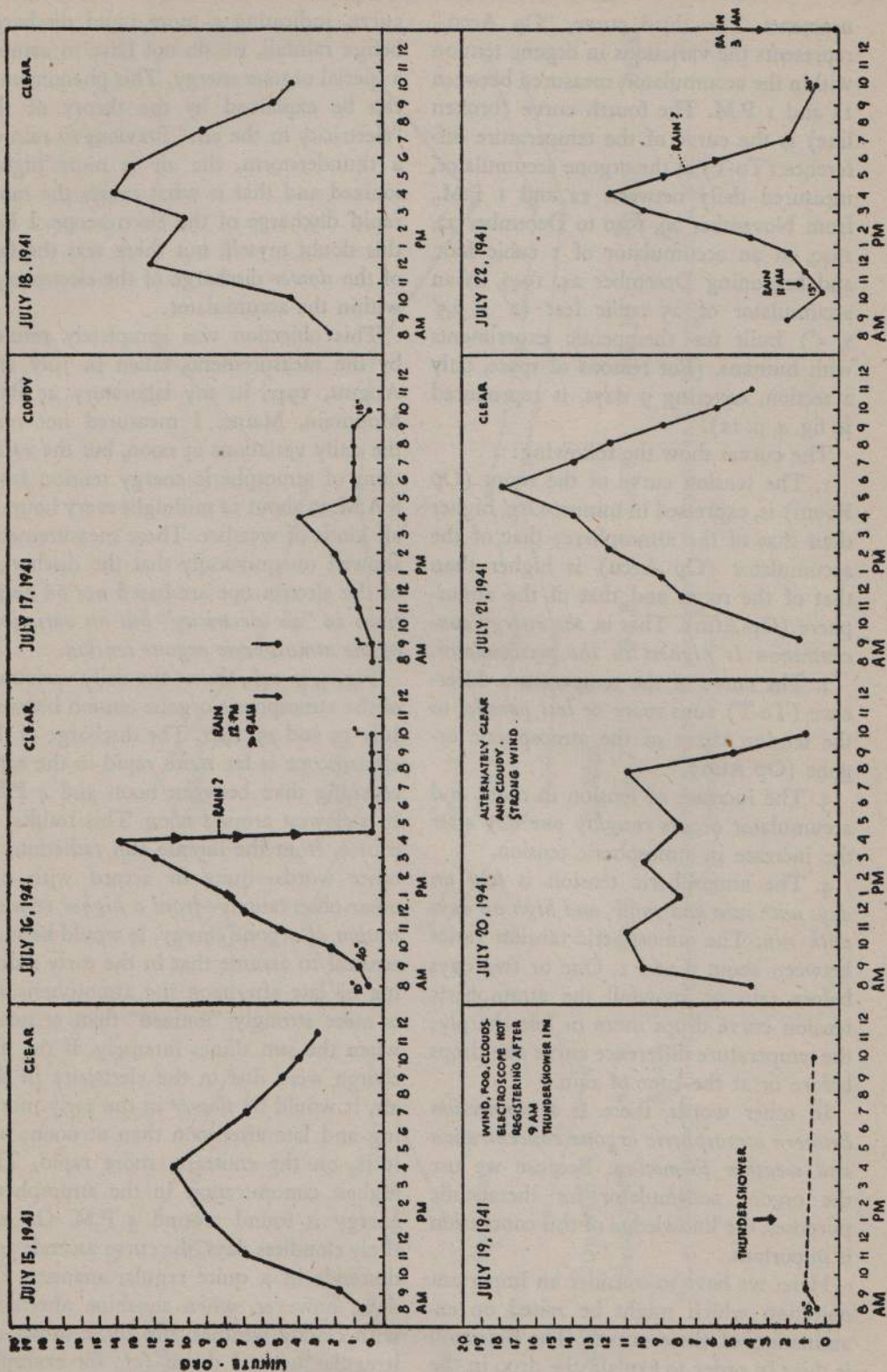
In other words, there is a *connection between atmospheric orgone concentration and weather formation.* Because we use the orgone accumulator for therapeutic purposes, the knowledge of this connection is important.

Here, we have to consider an important objection which might be raised on examination of these curves. The objection is this: In order to explain the drop in the

curve, indicating a more rapid discharge before rainfall, we do not have to assume a special orgone energy. This phenomenon can be explained by the theory of the "electricity in the air." Previous to rain or a thunderstorm, the air is more highly ionized and that is what causes the more rapid discharge of the electroscope. I had this doubt myself, but there was the fact of the *slower* discharge of the electroscope within the accumulator.

This objection was completely refuted by the measurements taken in July and August, 1941, in my laboratory at Bald Mountain, Maine. I measured not only the daily variations at noon, but the variations of atmospheric energy tension from 8 A.M. to about 12 midnight every hour, in all kinds of weather. These measurements showed unequivocally that the discharges of the electroscope are based *not on variations in "air electricity" but on variations of the atmospheric orgone tension.*

Fig. 5, p. 14f., shows the daily variations of the atmospheric orgone tension between July 15 and 25, 1941. The discharge of the electroscope is far more rapid in the early morning than between noon and 4 P.M. It is slowest around noon. This results, of course, from the intense sun radiation, in other words—quite in accord with our other observations—from a *higher concentration of orgone energy.* It would be nonsensical to assume that in the early morning or late afternoon the atmospheric air is more strongly "ionized" than at noon, when the sun shines intensely. If the discharge were due to the electricity in the air, it would be *slower* in the early morning and late afternoon than at noon; but it is, on the contrary, more rapid. The highest concentration in the atmospheric energy is found around 4 P.M. On entirely cloudless days, the curve ascends and descends in a quite regular manner. On days, however, when sunshine alternates with cloudy weather, the curve shows an irregular up and down (*cf.*, for example,



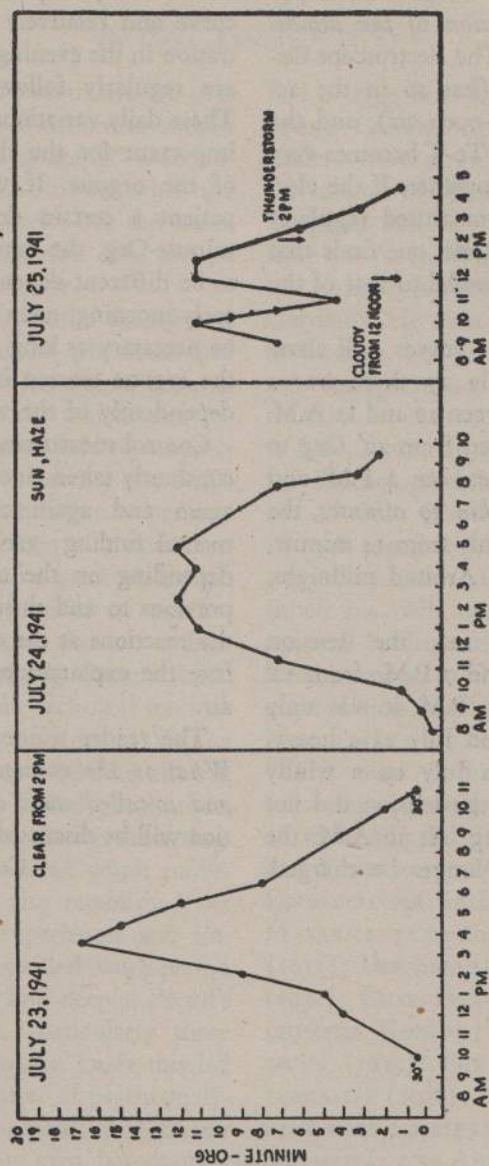


FIG. 5. Daily variations of the atmospheric orgone tension between July 15 and July 25, 1941.

the curve for July 20th). We find, furthermore, that *about 3 to 10 hours before a rainfall or thundershower, there is a rapid drop in the concentration of the atmospheric orgone energy*. The electroscope discharges very rapidly (less so in the accumulator than in the open air), and the temperature difference To-T becomes very small or disappears altogether. If the electroscopic discharge is measured regularly over a long period of time, one finds that the curve is roughly parallel to that of the temperature difference.

An inspection of the curves will show the following: On July 25, there was a shower at 2 P.M.; between 10 and 11 A.M. the tension had dropped from 12' Org to 5' Org. On July 16, between 4 P.M. and 4.30 P.M., that is, *within 30 minutes*, the tension dropped suddenly from 14 minute-Org to 10 second-Org. Around midnight, a heavy rainfall set in.

Similarly, on July 22, the tension dropped, between 4 and 7 P.M., from 12' Org to 2' Org; by 10 P.M. it was only 30" Org. At 3 A.M. on July 23 a heavy, steady rain set in. On July 19, a windy and very cloudy day, the tension did not go above 1 minute-Org. At 10 A.M. the electroscope could no longer be charged,

and at 1 P.M. a heavy thundershower set in which lasted until 3 P.M.

Conversely, days with a regular tension curve and relatively high orgone concentration in the evening (1 to 3 minute-Org) are regularly followed by a clear day. These daily variations are, of course, highly important for the therapeutic application of the orgone. If we want to give the patient a certain dosage of hour-Op or minute-Org, the exposure time will have to be different depending on whether it is early morning, noon or evening. This will be necessary as long as we cannot regulate the orgone tension in the accumulator independently of the weather.

Control measurements which have been constantly taken since the summer of 1941, again and again confirmed the fundamental finding: variations of the tension depending on the time of day, its drop previous to and during rain or snow, and the reactions at the electroscope which refute the explanation by ionization of the air.

The reader trained in physics will ask, *What is the connection between orgone and so-called static electricity?* This question will be discussed elsewhere.

Concluded October 1941

# SEX-ECONOMY†

## A Theory of Living Functioning

By CARL ARNOLD,\* Ph.D.

At first glance it may seem strange that a theory about living functioning should have been named "sex-economy." One reason for the name has to do with the growth of the theory itself; but the name is also characteristic of the core of the theory, as we shall see later.

The originator of both the theory and the name is the Austrian physician and psychologist, Dr. Wilhelm Reich, born in 1897. He wrote the works which later became the basis of the new field of research during 1925-38. After receiving his M.D. in Vienna in 1922, Reich began to practice as a psychoanalyst in that city and soon had a large practice and a great reputation as a therapist. The founder of psychoanalysis, Sigmund Freud, foresaw a brilliant future for the young doctor. Reich became the leader of the technical seminar at the Psychoanalytic Institute of Vienna and soon was known as a leading analyst, in regard to practical therapy, technique, theory, and as a teacher. At the same time he took part in the socialist youth movement of Vienna and also established sex hygiene clinics. The experiences and impressions of this many-sided work-period caused him to expand and deepen Freud's psychological theories, particularly those relating to mass-psychology. Later this led to a break with the master of psychoanalysis and to the development of a theory and a technique of his own based upon new foundations; a development which resulted in the growth of all that is true and viable in psychoanalysis.

In 1930 Dr. Reich moved to Berlin and continued his work. He did mental hygiene work in various organizations and

had a large following particularly among young Communists. Many of the older leaders were afraid that he would draw the interest of youth away from the class-struggle; and he was therefore expelled from the party. When the National-Socialists came to power, Dr. Reich had to flee Germany. He went first to Denmark, then to Sweden, but he did not receive a permit for permanent residence in either country. In the autumn of 1934 he went to Oslo, where he worked for a time with the Psychological Institute of the University of Oslo (Prof. Harald Schjelderup). In 1936, together with students from Norway, Denmark, and Germany, he established his own organization, the "International Institute for Sex-Economy." Since Reich's move to the United States, this organization has had its headquarters in New York.

The most important sources for the following exposition of sex-economy were all written by Dr. Reich. These books are: *DIE FUNKTION DES ORGASMUS* (1927); *DER EINBRUCH DER SEXUALMORAL* (1931); *DIE MASSENPSYCHOLOGIE DES FASCHISMUS* (1933); *DER SEXUELLE KAMPF DER JUGEND* (1932); *CHARAKTER-ANALYSE* (1933); *PSYCHISCHER KONTAKT UND VEGETATIVE STRÖMUNG* (1935); *DIE SEXUALITÄT IM KULTURKAMPF* (1936); *EXPERIMENTELLE ERGEBNISSE ÜBER DIE ELEKTRISCHE FUNKTION VON SEXUALITÄT UND ANGST* (1937); *ORGASMUS-REFLEX, MUSKELHALTUNG UND KÖRPERAUSDRUCK* (1937); *DIE BIONE* (1938); and many articles in the *Internat. Zeitschr. f. Psychoanalyse* and the *Zeitschr. f. polit. Psychologie und Sexualökonomie*.

Besides these printed sources, I have

† Translated by Marika Myerson.

\* This is a pseudonym. Present conditions force us, unfortunately, to withhold the names of our European co-workers.

used the knowledge I gained from Dr. Reich during the several years I spent with him in my training and as co-worker in his technical seminar for character-analysis and vegetotherapy. Finally, I have used personal experiences, both those I myself have gone through, and the observations made during 12 years of therapeutic work with patients. This work began with about 8 years of psychoanalytic technique; then I changed to the technique developed by Dr. Reich, which is called character-analytic vegetotherapy.

First, a few words about the term "sex-economy." Like many other scientific terms it is a combination of Greek and Latin—Latin: *sexualis*, meaning sexual; and Greek: *oikonomia*, meaning management, or economy. Accordingly, the term means "the teaching and study of the use of sexual energy." In the following, I hope to make clear how such a teaching and study came to be a theory of living functioning.

As the name makes clear, the new theory springs from a study of sexuality. All modern research in the field of sex, which does not solely concern itself with the biological, anatomical and physiological manifestations of sexuality, but also considers the psychological and social aspects, is based on Sigmund Freud's basic work. This is true even of sex-economy, and therefore it is necessary to briefly review some of the most important phases of the development of Freud's theory of sex.

It was his work with the neuroses, primarily with hysteria, that first drew Freud's attention and interest to sexual problems. His study of the psychoneuroses, i.e., those neuroses having a primarily psychic basis and psychic symptoms, forced him to conclude that these neuroses originated in sexual impulses or memories which had been inhibited. Originally Freud used the word "sexual" in the meaning it had at that time: simply, that which had to do with sex life, the sexual

organs, and procreation. At that time he believed that the psychoneuroses were caused by sexual experiences, mostly in childhood, which the patient later forgot, pushed out of his consciousness, or *repressed*. Freud had seen such inhibited memories and emotions become conscious during hypnosis. But Freud stopped using hypnosis for reasons which it is not necessary to explain here. Instead, he worked out another method, which he called the *psychoanalytic*, for making the inhibited emotions and memories conscious again. Primarily, this method seeks to make the patient say everything that comes to his mind: free association, it is called. The material thus revealed, together with the patient's dreams, is thereupon interpreted by the analyst. The purpose of psychoanalysis was—and still is—to make the unconscious, particularly the inhibited feelings, conscious, so that the conscious mind can make its decision, agreeing with or rejecting the material thus revealed, and in this way ridding itself of the neurosis. This process is often accompanied by emotional outbursts, and this more than anything else caused the psychoanalytic method to be called a method of *abreacting*. It is not necessary to discuss this further. I merely wish to point out that it was through this method that Freud discovered infantile sexuality and the fundamental role it plays in the lives of neurotic as well as healthy people.

The unconscious emotional life discovered by Freud through his new method was filled with sexuality, or, as he later discovered, with sexuality and aggression. I shall leave the question of aggression alone and discuss here only sexuality. Each step in analysis revealed sexual impulses, wishes, and fantasies, clearly connected with childhood memories and childhood situations. Freud's first conclusion was that these wishes and impulses originated in actual sexual experiences that had occurred during childhood, but a closer scrutiny of

a series of cases revealed that the acts Freud had under consideration had never been fulfilled except in the fantasy of the patient, i.e., they constituted wish-fulfillment. In other words, desires and fantasies had played the role which Freud first attributed to actual sexual experiences. Certainly in many cases there were also sexual experiences *per se*, in that the child had either participated in sexual acts and as a result had come up against interference from adults; or adults had made the child a party to sexual acts of which he was later ashamed and which he tried to forget; or else the child had witnessed the sexual act among adults with a resulting emotion which it was unable to control. As soon as Freud discovered these facts, he enlarged his concept of sexuality to include not only sexual acts, but all other sexual impulses as well, including wishes and fantasies. Thus the origin of a neurosis must be sought in the suppression and inhibition of all kinds of sexual impulses and fantasies in the wider meaning of the word.

Soon it became clear that the concept of sexuality had to be widened even more. Analysis showed that much of the material which undoubtedly originated in childhood had to be classified as perversions or sexual aberrations in adult life. Sexual sensations and impulses are felt not only in the sexual organs but in many other parts of the body, particularly in the mouth, the anal and urethral openings, and in the breasts; in many cases also in other parts of the body, such as the feces, the throat, nose, a foot, or a toe, to name examples from my own practice. Sexual sensations can also occur during certain acts which seemingly have nothing to do with sexuality, as for example during a fist fight, in exhibitionism, and curiosity about what other people do when they think they are alone (Peeping Toms), also putting out or looking at a fire, again examples taken from my own practice. All

these acts are felt immediately as sexual by the patient in question, or else as improper, wicked, which for most people is synonymous with sex. These acts have in common the fact that under certain circumstances they lead to a sexual release: ejaculation in men, a more or less recognizable orgasm in women. Freud had no doubt but that all these manifestations should be included in the concept of sexuality, and psychoanalytic literature has ever since used the expression in this wider sense.

Freud's continued research soon led him to discover that the sexual aberrations or perversions named above, or some of them, are present in all children, and that they continue until a certain age. The child, he stated, is polymorphously perverse, from the point of view of the adult. On the basis of this research he laid down his basic theory of sex, in his famous and bitterly contested work, *Drei Abhandlungen zur Sexualtheorie*. In this work he shows the development of the sexual impulse from birth to maturity—the first presentation of this development in history. The three most important stages of development he termed the oral, anal-sadistic, and genital or phallic stage. The child remains in the last-named stage until the age of 5 to 6; then comes a period of some years during which sex seems to play a lesser part, at least in the conscious emotional life. After this so-called latency period, sexuality awakens to new life during prepuberty. There follows a period of seeking and difficulties during the years of puberty, until the sexual life reaches its mature form, characterized by sexual relations with a person of the opposite sex. I cannot here go into detail about this development or about the numerous abnormal deviations found in the various stages of development, or their various reasons. I wish only to stress four points which play an important part both in Freud's theory of sex and of the neuroses,

and in the later development of these theories.

1. By far the greatest number of pathological sexual developments are the result of encroachments by parents, families, teachers. These aberrations form the basis for neuroses, which therefore have their origin in a conflict between biological impulse and social environment—or, as popularly expressed: neuroses are due to sexual inhibition.

2. Freud regarded the various sexual aberrations as special impulses. These "partial impulses" were of a manifold nature. Together they formed the sum-total of sexual energy, libido, as Freud called it, so that when one partial impulse became strong, the result was a corresponding weakening of the others.

3. Freud showed that a part of the sexual energy, of the libido, could be transferred from sexual objects to others that were not sexual. If these objects were useful to society, or at least accepted by society, Freud called this shift of energy *sublimation*. The name alone implies a depreciation of sexual objects compared with others. Freud also came to believe that there existed a certain conflict between sublimation and sexual satisfaction, between free sexuality and culture. Sex-economy holds another view for reasons explained below.

4. Freud demonstrated the sexual attachment existing between parents and children, which he called the Oedipus complex. I do not wish to touch here upon the outcry and persecution which resulted for Freud and psychoanalysis because of this teaching of the Oedipus complex. Neither do I wish to bring out the reasons for placing certain limits upon this theory. I only wish to emphasize Freud's demonstration that the Oedipus complex is at first unitary, both "tender" and "sensual" at the same time, as Freud put it. This relationship between parents and children becomes, because of sexual restrictions,

threats, and cries of "shame," split in two parts, one tender, the other sensual. The sensual element often becomes completely suppressed at an early age, while the tender, at least for a while, remains conscious. But the suppression of the sensual side often carries with it such anger and bitterness that even the tender side disappears and the only conscious feelings remaining between children and parents are those of indifference, or of hatred and enmity. In any case, the usual antisexual upbringing leads to a split in the emotional life between love on the one side and sensual desire on the other, between eros and sexus, as it has been called. In its extreme form this split often causes a person to be impotent with a mate he really loves, while he is unable to feel love for a partner to whom he is drawn by sexual desire. It can be expressed thus: "I would not be so wicked as to desire to sleep with the girl I love." This split also lies at the root of many speculations about eroticism and sexuality.

Psychoanalysis worked along on this theoretical basis during a quarter of a century, from about 1900 to about 1925. During this period many minor discoveries of detailed nature were made, resulting in certain corrections of the theory and in a certain development, but nothing of a basic nature came to light. The most important was perhaps the discovery of the "instinctual basis" of certain isolated character traits, and of certain neurotic symptoms and inhibitions. Two fields of research occupied the psychoanalysts: the therapy of the neuroses, practical and theoretical; and the study of cultural life in the light of psychoanalysis—ethnography, history, art, literature, religion, and science. In this field there was a great deal of careful research, which we cannot take up here.

The new ingredient in the theory of sex which was discovered later, had, like all other important discoveries in analytical psychology, its root first of all in clinical

work, and, in addition, in pedagogy and social work based on psychology. The new discovery was Wilhelm Reich's orgasm theory, brought out around 1925. This theory was based on certain clinical experiences which at that time had awakened a general interest in the field of psychoanalysis. These experiences consisted of the cases of failure in psychoanalysis among patients, both those that psychoanalysis was unable to affect and those who appeared improved by treatment, but very soon, for unknown reasons, relapsed into their old neurosis or developed a new one instead. It was the study of these cases that caused Freud to add to his theory of sex the theory of the death instinct and which caused Reich to build a new theory based upon Freud's original theory, which at the same time made Freud's theory more unified and consistent.

Freud based his new death instinct theory upon a particular type of patient whom he was unable to cure or affect, i.e., one who showed what he called "a negative therapeutic reaction." Such a patient reacted to each step of the analysis, each new discovery or correct analysis of his problem, even when he felt that it was a correct analysis, by an aggravation of his neurosis. Freud believed that what he had succeeded in freeing in such a patient was a desire which he had hitherto neglected: the desire for destruction or death. This desire, he believed, belonged to the natural instincts with which each man is endowed at birth, but usually was so hidden among the various expressions of sexual desire that it had not been noticed before; it merely gave to the other desires a special, aggressive tone. But in certain cases, which Freud tried to clarify, this fusion of desires became separated ("*Trieb-Entmischung*") and then it might happen that the death instinct became the strongest. This death instinct theory of Freud's was never generally accepted, for both

theoretical and practical reasons which I cannot go into here. I cannot speak for the present attitude of the International Psychoanalytical Association.

Reich took a different path. He gathered all the case material he could find of both successful cases and failures, those who had more or less finished their analysis with and without relapses, those who had remained cured, and those who remained hopelessly ill. He thereupon discovered that the successful cases were those who had succeeded in establishing and maintaining a satisfactory sex life, which the relapsed cases and the failures had not done. His next step was to try to discover what a satisfactory sex life consisted of and what role it plays in life. The result of this research was his orgasm theory, first described in *DIE FUNKTION DES ORGASMUS*, published in 1927. This orgasm theory is the basis of sex-economy, and I wish to describe it in more detail.

The genital sex life had hitherto been the stepchild in psychoanalytic research, in any case as far as adult genitality went; the situation was a little better in regard to children. Sex life was regarded as a step in a person's development like any other step, with the difference that it was normally the ultimate step and that it led to procreation. How genital sex life differs from other forms of sexuality, how it expresses itself among the ill and among the healthy, aside from such gross disturbances as impotence or frigidity, what role it plays both in itself and in relation to other expressions of sexual desire—these questions had been seldom, if at all, the subject of research.

The first thing Reich needed to clarify was the nature of a satisfactory sex life. He asked a number of people, who seemed to have a satisfactory sex life, and a comparison of their answers showed that the sexual act is not fully satisfactory unless it follows a certain living development: the act begins with a spontaneous excita-

tion, which grows, first slowly and later more quickly during the preliminary caresses and the first stage of coitus. During this stage the movements are voluntary and to a certain degree it is possible to control the growth of excitation through control of these actions. When this stage reaches a certain point there is a sudden rise in excitation, the movements become automatic, consciousness is concentrated entirely on the perception of the pleasure sensations until the highest point is reached, the orgasm, with a moment of unconsciousness. After that, the excitation subsides rapidly, consciousness returns, and a stage of tranquil happiness intervenes, a sensation of contentment and peace, which slowly changes to a desire for sleep, work, or play. The ability to experience this kind of a sexual act was found by Reich only in persons free from neurotic symptoms or inhibitions. He called this ability *orgastic potency*. In this way orgastic potency became the indication of freedom from neurosis and thereby the goal of the therapy of neuroses.

Before I continue I should like to emphasize that it is on the basis of these clinical experiences, continually corroborated, that Reich and sex-economy lay such great stress upon orgastic potency, and not on the basis of more or less theoretical speculations. I wish to repeat what these experiences have shown: that all persons, who have themselves experienced the sort of sex act which I have just described, agree that it is more satisfying than any other form of sexual activity, and that the capacity for experiencing this act, called "orgastic potency," is found only in persons without neuroses, and that hitherto we have not found any case of freedom from neurosis without orgastic potency.

After having determined what an adequate, completely satisfying sex act is and that no neurotic person is capable of attaining this satisfaction, Reich investigated the various forms of emotional disturbance

of the capacity for orgasm and found reason to believe that each type of neurosis has its own form of disturbance of the orgastic potency. I cannot here further describe that investigation. Instead I wish to describe Reich's general discussion of how neuroses are formed at all, in what way and why they always are accompanied by disturbances of the genital function and a lowering of orgastic potency; also the question of the source of energy of the neuroses.

Reich proceeded from the difference Freud had shown to exist between "actual neuroses" and "psychoneuroses." Actual neuroses Freud called such as seemed to have their origin in a present-day disturbance in sex life, particularly coitus interruptus, conflicts about masturbation, or sexual continence, and which ceased when the sexual disturbance was corrected. Freud believed, at first, that the sexual disturbance in these cases caused an accumulation of "sexual substances" as he named this supposed state of the body. When the patient succeeded in having a normal sex life, this accumulation ceased, and the neurosis was cured. Since this type of neurosis had a present-day causation, i.e., the sexual disturbance, he called it actual neurosis.

The psychoneurosis, on the other hand, has its origin in unconscious, inhibited impulses, wishes, and memories, which go back to the patient's childhood; conflicts which were never solved, but pushed aside and repressed. Freud also discovered with the passage of the years that the difference between actual neuroses and psychoneuroses is not absolute; closer study reveals that behind each actual neurosis there lies hidden something of a psychoneurotic nature, and on the other hand, that each psychoneurosis has an "actual-neurotic core."

Reich, as I have stated, proceeded from the difference between the two. He showed that the symptoms in an actual neurosis

chiefly are anxiety and a series of vasomotor reactions: palpitation of the heart or other disturbances in the action of the heart, perspiration, feelings of hot and cold, shakiness, dizziness, diarrhea, often a dry throat, or an excessive amount of saliva.

Note that the origin of actual neurosis is a disturbance of the sex life, i.e., a sex life with excitation but without adequate release. According to Freud's theory, there occurred damming-up of "sexual substances." Reich called this a stasis of sexual energy. The lack of an adequate release was found always to result in anxiety and the physiological symptoms which often accompany anxiety. On the other hand, a patient with actual neurosis loses his anxiety and the accompanying symptoms as soon as he obtains sexual release. Actual neuroses thus clearly demonstrate an antithetical relationship between sexuality and anxiety.

This relationship shows itself in other ways as well. During treatment of other neuroses, one sees that each time the patient gives up a neurotic symptom, he develops anxiety. It is clear that the function of the various symptoms is to diminish or "bind" the anxiety. When the symptom is given up the anxiety is released so that the patient experiences it fully. Whenever it is possible to discover how a neurosis started, it is shown that it began with anxiety. This is what we mean when we say that each psychoneurosis has an actual-neurotic core. The actual neurosis which in this way appears during the treatment of each psychoneurosis vanishes when the patient achieves a satisfactory genital sex life with orgasmic release.

The discussions of his own clinical experiences and those of other analysts confronted Reich with a new series of problems, which he was the first to formulate and examine and try to solve. I therefore wish to give a brief review of the most important of these, in approximately

chronological order in which they occurred in Reich's work.

The first of these problems was the psychological one, What is the function or functions of genital sexuality, and particularly of the genital orgasm? Until then psychologists, physicians and biologists, not to mention moralists and philosophers, had written and spoken about the sexual life of the individual as if it had no other function than that of procreation. Many of them well knew that the strongest feelings of pleasure are tied up with the sexual act, and that it is in great measure to achieve these that people and animals seek mates. But they regarded this desire lightly; it was primarily a bait created by nature in order to make people and animals accept the burden of bringing up their young. A person who took life seriously and wished to raise himself above the level of the animal ought not to seek his happiness in the satisfaction of his low, animal desires, but ought instead to do his duty—and for some people this meant bringing children into the world and taking care of them. The psychologists were unable to get away from the fact that some people became extremely unhappy when they were forced to give up their sexual desires, and both physicians and laymen could not close their eyes to the relationship that seemed to exist in these cases between an unsatisfactory sexual life and certain illnesses. But these were facts which science preferred to leave to poets, moralists and theologians to fight about as best they could. A storm of indignation arose, among physicians and psychologists as well as among churchmen and moralists, when Freud declared that the origin of neuroses was to be found in the suppression of sexual desires, or in wrongly directed sexual desires. In addition, Freud believed that it was necessary not only to make the sexual desires conscious, but also to satisfy them, as long as nothing stood in the way and the satisfaction of them did not take

away energy from cultural work. If there were hindrances in the way of satisfaction of one's sexual desires, one could do one of two things: deny them and fight against them without repression; or sublimate them, giving them a non-sexual goal accepted or at least tolerated by society. Because of this idea of the denial and "sublimation" of sexual desires, the opposition to Freud's teachings became less violent, so that not only psychologists who did not practice psychoanalysis, but even moralists and churchmen, were able to find something valuable in Freud's theories. Everything was on the way to an ideal state of affairs.

But at this point Reich came on the scene and disturbed this idyllic state of affairs with his orgasm theory. This theory states that if a person is to remain healthy, i.e., free from neurotic symptoms and inhibitions, he must have a satisfactory sexual life with adequate release of sexual excitation, which means, for a mature person, sexual intercourse with someone of the opposite sex, with complete orgasm. (How children achieve release is not yet clear; possibly in the beginning through being suckled and sucking their fingers, toys, etc.; and later, from the age of 3-4, through masturbation to which they can give themselves wholly and thus experience pleasure.) If one accepts this theory—and it is confirmed by all clinical experience—it is clear that the sexual life has quite a different function besides procreation, i.e., it regulates the excitations of the psychophysical organism; it regulates the energy household, the sexual economy, of the organism. The neuroses—inhibitions as well as neurotic symptoms—are therefore the result of a disturbed energy household in the organism.

What sort of energy are we dealing with here? Psychoanalysis gave this energy of the sexual desire the name of libido, which really means "desire." But that which we experience psychologically as desire and

pleasure, must also find expression organically, biologically. As far as sexual pleasure goes, it can occur on any sensitive spot on the body. Biologically, feelings of desire and pleasure are tied to the vegetative nervous system, which is functionally and partly even anatomically, divided in two parts, the parasympathetic (vagus) and the sympathetic system. Feelings which are psychologically libidinous, are biologically vegetative.

The clinical experiences I mentioned above show that when sexual desire is hindered and is not permitted to attain its goal, a state of anxiety occurs (which later may be bound to or exchanged for, various neurotic symptoms). The physiological expression of sexual desire is a preponderant innervation of the parasympathetic (vagotonia) which shows itself in fresh, ruddy color of face and body; the skin is smooth and warm, without perspiration, the eyes clear, there is ample secretion of saliva, heart and pulse are normal, the sphincter muscles of the bladder and anus are relaxed, an increased secretion of the sex glands is evident, the sexual organs are warm and filled with blood. The physiological expression of anxiety, on the other hand, is a preponderant innervation of the sympathetic (sympatheticotonia); pale, cold skin with cold sweat, goose pimples on the body, a dry mouth, the eyes wide-open, pupils large, pulse fast, palpitation of the heart, spasm of the sphincter muscles of the bladder and anus, the sexual organs dry and wrinkled. Pleasure sensations, even if not of a consciously sexual character, have, nevertheless, the same physiological expressions, even though not as outspoken. This points to a basic identity of sexuality and pleasure. A wealth of psychological experiences points to the same conclusion: one can see this in children, but also among adults, during analysis. Children who have been prohibited from their early years, or very strongly, from seeking pleasure, even in

non-sexual activities, feel a kind of prohibition against all kinds of desire. If this inner prohibition is not removed, they will grow up into adults with a diminished capacity both for seeking and experiencing pleasure, sexually and in other ways; for example, in their work. Many adults who begin to experience natural pleasure during treatment, for example in the deep breathing, feel at first that this pleasure is something forbidden (that is to say, sexual) in spite of the fact that in thinking about it they cannot find anything terrible in it. Thus Reich arrived at the conclusion that sexuality and the function of pleasure are fundamentally the same, and that the opposite of sexuality, both physiologically and psychologically, is anxiety. This antithesis he called the *basic antithesis of vegetative life*.

Physiologically, it can be shown that in vagotonic reaction the blood flows towards the periphery of the body, the skin. Psychically this is felt as a turning outward of one's interest: one wants to do something or to come into contact with other people. If this desire meets any opposition—and this happens practically always, if only the opposition of inertia—the flow towards the periphery is dammed in several places, creating a local sympatheticotonic reaction with an increased inner tension. With the help of this tension the opposition is overcome, or else the dammed-up stream of energy is released in movements. As the energy is used up a new vagotonic reaction occurs, and the same process is repeated, so that it is possible to say that normal, free, vegetative activity consists of a rhythmic alternation between the parasympathetic and sympathetic functions.

But the regular, everyday change between the parasympathetic and sympathetic functions does not give release to the whole vegetative energy. At longer or shorter intervals there seems to be a gathering of energy, which seeks release through a dis-

charge of both parasympathetic and sympathetic, a discharge in which the complete psychophysical organism is involved. Such discharges occur on the one hand through sexual orgasm; on the other hand through feats of strength or work which demand all one's energies. In the first case the vagotonic reaction, the experience of pleasure, is uppermost, but even the sympatheticotonic reaction is seen in the strong feelings of excitation and need for release. In the second case the feeling of striving, of putting one's strength to the test, of suspense (i.e., sympatheticotonic reaction) is the strongest, while the vagotonic reaction is felt here as the accompanying pleasure and satisfaction of having used one's energies well. In both experiences is felt, when the highest pitch is reached, an element of risk, of danger, of anxiety, in the midst of pleasure. Isolated, this element can become a desire for anxiety, a sense of daring, of adventurousness; or, in a negative sense, it can become pleasure anxiety.

Clinical experience shows that these two kinds of experience always go together, so that in the same degree that a person has the capacity for work (in the sense of wholly giving himself to it, of concentrating upon it), he also has the capacity for experiencing the sexual orgasm completely. This was to be expected, considering the close relationship of the two parts of the vegetative nervous system, the vagic and the sympathetic. If the vagotonic functions are free and capable of release, the sympathetic ones must be the same, and vice versa. This point of view has shown itself very valuable in clinical work. Often our patients declare that nothing is wrong with their sexual potency, but they are dissatisfied with their work or with their way of life in other ways. When we have discovered enough about what is wrong with their work or their methods of living and working, it is possible as a rule to discover a certain disturbance of the sexual function. From my own experience with

patients, I may say that a further examination of the sex life of such patients has always proved me right. On the other hand it happens that persons who are extremely satisfied with their capacity for work and with life in general, come for treatment because of diminished sexual potency. In such cases closer examination of the sexual disturbance makes it possible to point out corresponding disturbances in the working capacity, of which the patient had been unaware. In this way we are also able to decide when a treatment is successfully finished. In order to be considered finished, we must find in the patient complete orgasmic potency, complete capacity for concentration in work, and, I should like to add, a certain spirit of enterprise and daring. The first two abilities are not found, at least not for long periods, except in persons who have a satisfying sexual life; in regard to the third characteristic, it is common, among persons without orgasmic potency, to find it taking up either an unreasonably large or an unreasonably small place in their lives. Such persons are usually extremely daring, i.e., wild speculators, proposers of grand projects or hypotheses, or else they are lacking in initiative and are over-cautious.

To the question, "What is the function of the genital sexual life?"—we can therefore answer: It is the only complete regulator of the vegetative and therefore of the psychic energy tensions. The capacity for genital sexual experience, that is, orgasmic potency, is identical with the capacity for a maximal and concentrated working ability and with courage to meet the difficulties which life brings.

At the same time as he reached this psychological result, Reich was faced with a series of new problems. The first was the therapeutic problem: how to help patients to overcome the inner difficulties which impede a satisfying sexual life and destroy their natural orgasmic potency?

Since a disturbance of the sexual life is identical with a disturbance of the vegetative functions, the first thing was to discover how these functions became disturbed and broken. Since Reich had approached the problem from a psychoanalytic point of view it was natural for him to begin with the emotional causes. Even psychoanalysis had shown that the origin of the difficulties was not to be found in the neurotic symptoms, which instead were really attempts to solve or flee from the difficulties, usually by giving satisfaction to certain inhibited desires and thus camouflaging these desires so that they were unrecognizable. One concrete example: a patient suffering from a compulsive desire to stare at everything that looked the least bit different, was proved to experience during staring an immediate feeling of pleasure, although weak and of short duration, of the same kind experienced by the patient during secret masturbation. Sometimes this compulsive desire to stare camouflaged the visual fantasies which had accompanied the masturbation. Like all such symptoms, it gave little satisfaction and was a great deal of trouble. Obviously it was not a good solution to the conflict between masturbation and the desire to stare on the one hand, and the normal inhibitions on the other; but it saved the patient from experiencing and acknowledging desires which he believed were sinful and shameful. This is, in the main, the function of all neurotic symptoms and inhibitions. At an early date Freud had shown that the origin of both symptoms and inhibitions lay in such conflicts, and he believed at first that if the conflict and the meaning of the symptom were made conscious, the symptom would vanish. In some cases this was true, but not for the majority. Usually there was a strong resistance to giving up the unconscious desires and even more to acknowledging them and experiencing them, even when the analyst was able to explain their

content. In this way it became necessary to first analyze the resistance, and Freud laid down various principles for this "analysis of resistances"—principles which in practice were seldom or never followed before Reich developed the technique of consistent resistance analysis. After awhile it became apparent that not even "resistance-analysis" could succeed with the great majority of neuroses, because the resistance stemmed not only from conscious or unconscious desires and affects, but from the very character of the patient; and here analysis did not get any further, at least in the majority of cases. It was here that Reich's great pioneering work in the therapeutic field set in.

Reich was the first psychoanalyst to take up the problem of character for general discussion. Earlier, much good work had been done to clarify the instinctual basis of certain isolated characteristics, particularly by Freud, Abraham, and Jones. But no one had considered character as a whole, the question of which character traits go together and why, the whole structure of character; and least of all had anyone considered the *function* of the character. In spite of the fact that analysts had seen various isolated characteristics grow in the soil of certain drives and under certain given circumstances, it seemed to be taken for granted that once a certain character trait existed in a patient, there was nothing to be done about it except to make the best of it. To be sure, it sometimes happened that one or more character traits changed during treatment, but this was regarded as accidental, as occurring by chance. The usual procedure was that, when during analysis it had been discovered that the patient had a particular tendency, that a particular partial impulse had "become part of the character," there remained nothing else for the patient to do about it than to continue living with his personality as best he could.

Here Reich made his first basic thera-

peutic advance. Taking the central function of sexuality, and particularly the orgasm, as a point of departure, he asked himself: what role do the different characters play in relation to this function? All types of character have in common that they make it possible for the individual to protect himself from stimuli that are too painful, so that they may be held at a distance until there is time and opportunity to react in a more convenient manner and not blindly. It is a truism that most of the more or less useful methods of reacting have a tendency to become habits, which easily become unconscious and hinder a person from reacting thereafter in the manner which would, under the circumstances, actually be the most useful. When Reich began to compare the different characters and their effect on the function of the orgasm, he soon saw that they fell into two main groups: those who had the capacity for orgasmic potency, and those who did not. He named the first group the *genital character*; and the second, the *neurotic character*. I cannot take the space here to give a detailed description of the two groups, but I wish to say a few words regarding the difference between them.

The genital character enjoys a sexual life that has attained full flowering, so that all sexual desires are gathered into the one heterosexual desire to have intercourse with complete surrender, without any wish to torture or to be tortured, and without having the other partner—consciously or unconsciously—see in him whichever of the parents had been the love-object during childhood. Without exceptionally strong reasons this type of person does not tolerate living in celibacy; when he has a partner, to whom it is possible to give himself completely and without fear and who can receive fully, he will stay with this partner as long as the full relationship lasts.

In the neurotic character, on the other hand, the pregenital desires are so strong that they prevent a full genital orgasm, or

else the genital desires are so hedged about with prohibitions and guilt feelings that he finds it impossible to have a mature sex life, or if he has one, it is so inhibited that it does not give full satisfaction and release. This lack of complete release causes a feeling of emptiness and uselessness which we call inferiority feeling, and which is so common that there is a more or less general belief that a feeling of sadness or dissatisfaction is normal after intercourse ("post coitum omne animal triste"). If this feeling of inferiority, as often happens, leads a person to work hard, this will either become compulsive work out of duty, or else a seeking after power and honors rather than happiness. The genital character finds work a natural result of his desire for constantly increasing contact with other people and of a healthy participation with his fellowbeings in sorrow and joy. Since orgasmic potency is identical with the ability to concentrate wholly upon an object or a piece of work, and since each neurosis brings with it a disturbance of this ability, it follows that for the genital character life and work is a realization of these natural tendencies, or a struggle for these goals; while work and life for the neurotic character becomes infiltrated with the struggle to hold down both the original, and even more, the secondary desires and tendencies. The varying forms of the neurotic character are varying ways of suppressing the desires or tendencies of which he is ashamed or which he regards as dangerous.

Using this knowledge of the role played by character, Reich began to look for a method of influencing and changing character. Bit by bit he worked out a new technique to attain his goal, the *character-analytic* technique. I will not go into detail about this technique but merely point out that he inaugurated, or rather builds upon two points of view which are related to the psychoanalytical viewpoint, and yet take an important step forward. While

psychoanalysis seeks to make the unconscious desires conscious through free association and through analysis of unconscious desires and the resistance to them, character-analysis, on the one hand, attacks the character and makes the patient conscious of the *way* in which he acts in word and deed; and on the other hand the character-analyst encourages him not only to say what comes to his mind, but also to do it, within certain limits. The unconscious, which in this way is made conscious, is *experienced* in quite a different manner and with quite another sense of reality than most of the material brought out during free association and interpretation. This technique, as worked out by Reich, made evident that most characters consist of several layers, which are expressed and made conscious one after the other, until the patient himself feels that he has arrived at the manner of behavior natural for him. When the patient comes far enough along so that this behavior is stable, he also achieves orgasmic potency—an achievement which naturally does not occur at once, but little by little, as the sexual elements of his behavior undergo treatment along with the other elements.

During treatments employing the character-analytic technique, Reich noticed that patients regularly experienced a series of bodily movements and sensations hitherto unknown to them; and with which the medical world had not concerned itself, although much of this had already been observed occasionally. No one had ever thought of doing anything about these movements. They began, as Reich noticed, often without the knowledge of the patient, and most often as jerking or pulling movements, many times reminding one of certain kinds of tics. Often they began locally, but spread further and further throughout the body. After a while it was possible to distinguish two kinds of movements: those that looked soft, free, organic,

and others, which were swifter, spasmodic or mechanical. When the soft, organic movements reached a certain stage before they were broken off by the other movements or by resistance, they were accompanied by "flowing" feelings in the body. Often these feelings began on the inside of the thighs, in the chest, stomach or the face. One condition for the development of both the free movements and the flowing feelings was more or less free, deep breathing by the patient. With these experiences as a basis, Reich began to study the relationship between deep breathing and spontaneous bodily movements, and at the same time the reason for the muscular spasms and mechanical or automatic movements which acted as a brake, or stopped altogether, the spontaneous movements and flowing sensations. He then discovered that as the spontaneous movements and flowing sensations increased, as the breathing became freer, as the patient had less muscular spasm and less mechanical, automatic movements, he understood much more clearly his difficulties and the reasons for them, and was able more and more to overcome them, in his work, sexuality and his manner of living in general.

This formed the basis for a new step forward in therapeutic technique and led to what Reich called character-analytic *vegetotherapy*. We will refer to the method only by the last-named word, vegetotherapy, but emphasize that we always mean character-analytic therapy and not an independent therapy which has little or nothing to do with character-analysis. Whether it will in the future be possible for the vegetotherapeutic technique to become independent of character-analysis and achieve cures of character faults solely by its own methods, is a question I do not wish to discuss here.

The point of departure for vegetotherapy as a special technique for treating neuroses and character difficulties was the discovery

of what Reich has called the orgasm reflex. This discovery has been described by Reich in *ORGASMUSREFLEX, MUSKELHALTUNG UND KÖRPERAUSDRUCK*, Oslo, 1937. In a patient who clearly and quickly developed the spontaneous movements just discussed, these became little by little more and more unified, so that finally the whole body was involved. They then exhibited the form of wavelike movements over the whole body which grew in intensity until they became clonic movements, as in a free orgasm. It was this that Reich called the orgasm reflex. When he had seen this reflex in its fully developed form and remembered its development, he was struck by the fact that all the movements we have mentioned here as spontaneous movements, are parts of orgasm reflexes, and when they are given an opportunity to develop, are gathered together in this one reflex. During clinical treatment the development of the orgasm reflex goes hand in hand with the ability to overcome resistances in the character to the free impulses, and with the release of the muscular spasms of the body. Thus the achievement of the complete, free orgasm reflex can be regarded as the goal of the therapy of neuroses.

The new element in the therapeutic technique which Reich introduced after this discovery, was that he took particular notice of the spontaneous bodily movements and of that which acted as a brake upon them, or stopped them, or hindered them from developing. Something of these movements is found in each human being in connection with breathing and the action of the heart. The action of the heart is difficult to influence except by drugs, but breathing can be controlled by will-power. Further, it seems that changes in heart-rhythm are the result of other vegetative processes rather than the reason for the occurrence of these processes, while breathing is able to start, to act as a brake upon, or to stop altogether, many vegetative movements and sensations. If one ob-

serves the spontaneous breathing of a person, it is possible, with some experience, to quickly notice several places on the body where there is more or less muscular resistance, either constantly or at intervals, of which the person himself is often unaware. After gaining a certain experience, it is also possible to notice that many of these muscular resistances are part of a way of carrying the body, of an expression of the face, which bears witness to either a state of emotion or to a character trait. All this can be conscious, unconscious or only partly conscious, if it is possible to use such an expression.

The function of vegetotherapeutic treatment is that of freeing the spontaneous, vegetative movements. To achieve this, the patient must consciously experience both the constant and varying muscular spasms of his body, which hinder the spontaneous movements, as well as the spontaneous movements themselves as they occur. In other words, it is necessary to make him consciously experience what is happening in his own body, both what he himself does and what occurs spontaneously. The methods used are partly direct, partly indirect. Directly, the therapist tries to make the patient feel what is happening in his body, or make him conscious, for example, that he is lying with a muscular spasm in the throat or in the forehead. Indirectly, the therapist points out, perhaps, that for a long time the patient has not accepted a single thing that has been said, not even the most obvious facts, and in this way it may be possible to make the patient relax his stiff-necked attitude somewhat. A combination of the two methods occurs when the therapist first succeeds in making the patient experience and acknowledge a certain way of holding himself or a certain muscular spasm and then lets him discover by himself what lies behind all this; preferably also, discovering what particular expression this has had in his recent behavior. In working

these things out there occur also, during most treatments, forgotten or half-forgotten memories, often clearly related to the muscular spasms, or to the facial or bodily expression. Some spasms, often in parts of the body which are difficult to observe or to reach from the outside, are made conscious through dreams. By utilizing the hints offered by dreams, it is often possible to get a patient to experience and to try to relax such spasms.

Each time the patient experiences a new sensation in this way, a new vegetative movement is released. This is true whether the new experience deals with present problems or those of the past; very often there is a combination of the two. When the vegetative movements have reached a certain strength or a certain inclusiveness, the patient experiences them, partly together with the flowing currents felt in the body, partly simply as such currents. These currents are often described by patients as waves of warmth, or a slight sucking or pulling of a clearly pleasurable nature. Patients who previously have had religious experiences express these sensations in religious terms, streams of grace, blessedness, joy and peace. Others, who are used to religious expressions but have not had any personal religious experiences, say that now they understand what it means to be blessed, or that they have had a "foretaste of heavenly bliss." The experiencing of these bodily currents gives the patients a greater feeling of security and new hope of becoming healthy.

As soon as the patient is able to experience and follow along with his vegetative movements, he is able to cooperate in the treatment in a different manner than before, by more and more being able to feel both how and why he puts the brake on his own vegetative movements, and in this way more consciously cooperating in the work of overcoming the hindrances, both bodily ones and those which stem from his character. As this work proceeds and suc-

ceeds, he sees more and more clearly both the outer difficulties and conflicts which have shaped his inhibitions and his neurosis, and also which inner and outer difficulties he must fight, if he wishes to become free and healthy once more. The complete experiencing of these difficulties sometimes causes him to lose courage and become so depressed that he is unable to see his way clear to overcoming them. If such depressions become too severe, before the patient has learned to give expression by word and action to his feelings, he may stop treatment without having improved noticeably, or even commit suicide in a fit of depression. It is especially important for him to become conscious, at an early stage, of his suppressed anger and learn to vent it; once he has learned how to do this, the danger of stopping treatment because of inner conflicts or the danger of suicide becomes small or nonexistent. It might be wise to point out in this connection, that these dangers, even the danger of suicide, exist in all neuroses, whether the patient is being treated or not. The fact that the patient becomes more and more conscious of the scope of his difficulties and how deeply imbedded they are, regularly causes the last stage of treatment to become the most difficult, both for the patient and the therapist. This is also true of psychoanalysis and character-analysis.

As the vegetative movements become released, the patient begins to feel more free in other ways; in particular, he begins to feel more alive. His capacity for living, for entering into activity, for giving himself to the present, grows tremendously, in regard to work, relations with other people, and sexual relations. His work, social life, and sexual experiences are freed from most of the restraints that previously impeded them, such as feelings of duty, compulsion, guilt, and rivalry for honors. They become natural functions to which he is able to devote himself freely and surrender himself to, in his own way and in his own

time. Opposition no longer depresses or discourages him, but acts as a spur to greater efforts, to anger, if necessary, or, when the opposition is actually overpowering, to a seeking of new ways or new goals. He feels, in general, much more alive. This does not mean that he feels more satisfied or happier, sometimes quite the opposite: if circumstances make it impossible for him to keep on with his new way of life, he will suffer more deeply. On the other hand, he will give up trying to improve on a way of life that is impossible both for himself and those in his environment. For he who is vegetatively healthy has a much greater capacity for contact with others, for feeling with them, and thus he suffers if they suffer. It can be said that the capacity for suffering grows in about the same ratio as the capacity for happiness; this is what one would expect when one recalls that the suppression of the vegetative life, the inhibitions, originated as a protection against anxiety and suffering.

The vegetatively free person experiences all his own needs, desires and impulses in a different way and much more strongly than the person who is vegetatively inhibited, except for those special occasions, when the inhibited person's dammed-up impulses break out with unnatural strength. The vegetatively free person does not tolerate outer bonds and limitations which he finds unreasonable. And he longs to surround himself with free people, feels uncomfortable among superiors or co-workers who are unable to accept all that he has to give, or to give that which he needs. In a society based on inequality and oppression, he therefore becomes a revolutionary. He demands a social system that will permit free people to exist, and a system of education that will permit children to retain the natural, vegetative freedom which is theirs at birth. On the basis of Reich's findings, Paul Martin has drawn up the basic principles for sex-economic

pedagogy in a little book, "Upbringing for Living." It is impossible to give more than basic principles at the present time; the details will be filled in after observation of sex-economic education over a longer period of time.

The basic principle in sex-economic education is self-regulation. By this we mean that everything that is done with and for the child must consider his needs, as he feels them and shows them, so that the child will get a chance to have his needs satisfied, to realize his desires himself, naturally with reasonable consideration of the demands of the adults and the environment. The reason we insist upon self-regulation is that in practically each case we treat, the vegetative, and therefore also the neurotic inhibitions, can be traced to childhood prohibitions enforced by adults. Self-regulation must begin the moment the child enters the world, so that from the first day of its life it may decide for itself how much and how long it wishes to eat, when and how long it wishes to sleep or remain awake, when it wishes to move its bowels and urinate, and when it needs care. Naturally it takes time and thought for an adult to discover the child's desires, but by taking this time and thought it is soon possible to discover the child's own natural rhythm and then count upon it with much greater safety than upon any habit the child may have been forced to learn through outer pressure. Further, there is the question of initiative in the child, to help it to grow and make it independent and able to help itself, as soon as age and strength permit. Thirdly, the question, so difficult for parents of today: How much love and caresses shall I give my child? The answer, for us, is quite clear: as much as the child itself wishes to have, no more or less. If it receives less than it desires, it becomes unhappy and doubtful of its own personality and of those of the adults, and develops that sense of inferiority from which so many adults suffer.

And if it receives more love than it desires, it becomes spoiled; stops doing anything for itself and at last feels that there is no joy in anything that is given to it, no matter how beautiful the gifts or the care showered upon it. The same is true of everything the child receives before it shows a desire for it; this undermines the basis for one of the most important prerequisites for a happy and successful life: the necessity for man to help himself as far as he can and to use all his talents to the utmost. Lastly, bringing up a child according to the principle of self-regulation will give parents and teachers more joy in the child than any other form of education, because this form of upbringing makes possible a wider and deeper contact between child and adults than can be had in any other way.

Practical sex-economic education has existed for only a short time, but there are some children who have lived with adults practicing the kind of upbringing I have briefly sketched. I cannot further describe how the principle of self-regulation works in the basic aspects of life, such as cleanliness, orderliness, play, and other facets of social life with children and adults, teaching and studies, work and the general development of methods of living; neither can I enter upon the role sexuality plays in the life of the child who is permitted to grow up under these conditions. I merely wish to state that those children I know, who have had this upbringing, are the healthiest, most natural, intelligent and lovable children I have ever seen.

When I described how it feels to experience vegetative movements and currents, I mentioned that people who earlier had had personal religious experiences or were used to religious expressions, often compared their vegetative feelings to their religious ones, or used religious words to describe vegetative feelings. These facts bring out the question: What role do these sensations play in the life of religious peo-

ple and thereby in religion as a whole? The scientists of our time seem to accept the belief that religion is built upon religious experiences. This question has not as yet received more than preliminary consideration, in lesser works by Reich, Karl Teschitz and myself; that which I have to offer on the subject is therefore merely preliminary results, which I hope to be able to enlarge upon in another connection.

Religious experience has always been the central problem of the psychology of religion, ever since this branch of science was created at the end of the 19th century. As I have shown in an earlier work, we are dealing here with a psychological experience of a particular kind, forming the basis and the point of departure for all that is specifically religious in religion. This experience I have called ecstasy. I have shown under what circumstances it is able to cause, and indeed has caused, a religion to be born. I wish here to state merely that ecstasy in one form or another is an integral part of religious conversion which is the religious phenomenon most thoroughly studied by psychologists, and which is of prime interest, particularly for many Christian sects. This interest is strongest in the English and American sects, and it is among them that the best research on conversion has been done.

This research, which bases itself equally upon the descriptions of living persons and literary sources, shows that at least among these sects conversion is a phenomenon of puberty—using the word puberty in its socio-psychological meaning: the period from physical sexual maturity until an adult sex life is established. This fact makes it easier for us to understand the whole process of conversion, because it forces us to ask: What is there about this period of transition that makes youth particularly susceptible to such experiences? Examination of children and adults from the viewpoint of sex-economy and with the technique of vegetotherapy gives us the

answer. It shows that small children, before they have had their natural tendencies crushed, exhibit, in all their movements, the free, soft and charming vegetative manner, found in adults only in exceptional cases, or after long treatment. It shows further, that this softness and healthy spontaneity diminishes and at last mostly disappears, as the child is forced to suppress its natural impulses and natural reactions through prohibitions placed upon it by adults. In the four-five-six-year-old groups this repression of vegetative health is particularly noticeable. From five and six years on many children exchange a great part of their natural liveliness and happiness for a more or less comfortable consciousness of what adults approve of or of their own ability to hold up their end among children of their own age. This process continues for some years, usually until puberty sets in. Then, with the maturing of the sexual organs, the suppressed desire for life and particularly for sexuality receives new strength. But since all avenues of release are more or less closed, this desire becomes dammed up; this process takes a great deal of energy and binds it so that the energy at the service of the conscious personality is weakened, with the result that the young persons feel powerless, without abilities, inferior and empty or unhappy. For many, it is as if life were worthless, or at least as if they themselves were unable to get from it the things that make life worth living. This feeling constitutes for many young people the so-called difficulties of puberty. These difficulties do not always coincide with physiological puberty, which consists of the maturing and differentiation of the sexual cells. But if we include psychological puberty, which lasts from the time before physiological puberty until the young person establishes an adult sexual life, we may say that practically all people in the civilized world today have their puberty problems.

During this period, when life seems evil

and unhappy, or deserted and empty, religion enters with its "joyful message" of another, better, richer, and more blessed life for all who wish to be converted and believe. I will not describe here the methods used by religion to achieve such conversions, nor the occasions when conversion and belief seem to come by themselves, without forewarning. I shall content myself with showing that conversion and belief actually do lead to, or bring with them, a new life, experienced by the converted person and by the believer with the strongest feelings he has ever known. This experience is felt by most as something quite new in their lives; only one or the other will remember a time far back in childhood, when they felt alive in a similar way. It must have been such a memory that created the biblical sayings, "Except ye become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven," and, "This little child, the same is the greatest in the kingdom of heaven." This is because the new life which religion promises and gives to its believers is principally a reawakening, a break-through, of the spontaneously vegetative in life, with that joy in life that every healthy and unoppressed child has.

The scientific proof of this has not yet been established, and it is possible and even reasonable to expect that the results of my own experiences and examinations, which I have briefly described here, may look quite different after further experience and research. But I believe that everyone who has knowledge of both the therapy of the neuroses and the psychology of religion, will agree that these suggestions point to large and promising possibilities in the field of religious research.

It goes without saying that a psychological theory of emotional and bodily health as I have sketched it here, and in pedagogy and religion, must have serious consequences for our views on politics and society. There is as yet no sex-economic

political organization, and we can hardly expect to have one until circumstances in the civilized world are such that practical efforts can be made to realize sex-economic principles on a larger scale. From the sex-economic viewpoint the chief goal of all political efforts must be to create a society and a way of living in which life, free, spontaneous, vegetative life, may develop as freely and as fully as possible; this is the only guarantee for a normal regulation of the sexual energy, or life energy. This requires that each person make his own decisions regarding his own body and be able to follow and put into practice his own desires, sexual and others, as long as he does not violate the desires of other people; society must provide the conditions of life necessary for this. Further, society must guarantee a form of education that will respect a child's natural needs and will give it opportunity to develop freely in natural social life with other free children and adults. And further, conditions of work must be arranged so that each person may wholly, or at least primarily, engage in the kind of work he likes, together with people he likes, so that work will no longer hamper and kill, but quite the opposite, will express the spontaneous will to a free life.

It is impossible to say today how society should be built to fulfill these needs, and neither is it possible to say how we are going to achieve such a society. What can be done today, is that all who consciously feel the spontaneous life in themselves and understand the difficulties and dangers threatening it in the society of today, should learn the laws of society, as it now functions, and together try to find out how best to work for a new, free, and natural way of life. This much we can say now: the work toward a new kind of society must consider the necessity of satisfying the natural human needs.

In yet another, actually the most important, field, sex-economic theories will soon

propose new and decisive problems. I am referring to biology and the sciences connected with it, such as pathology, physiology and therapeutics.

Using as his starting point the clinical experiences in regard to the complete orgasm and the role it plays in releasing psychic and vegetative tensions, thereby acting as the regulator of psychophysical health, Reich undertook to discover what this orgasm really is from the viewpoint of biology and physiology. He arrived at the idea that the sensations felt during orgasm as sexual pleasure and excitation and which go with a vagotonia and the flow of blood and secretions to the periphery of the body, particularly to the sexual organs, really are a mechanical tension carrying with it a bio-electrical charge, which, when it reaches a certain degree, turns into bio-electrical discharge and mechanical relaxation. Experimenting with an oscillograph, he discovered that during sexual excitation there actually developed an increase in bio-electrical charge at the erogenous zones; on the other hand he found a decrease of this bio-electrical charge when the person submitting to the experiment experienced anxiety or unpleasure. As we mentioned before, feelings of pleasure are accompanied by an increased vagotonia, while anxiety and depression, on the other hand, go with an increased sympatheticotonia. Vagotonia is a flow towards the periphery of the body, a widening, while sympatheticotonia is a flowing inwards, a shrinking, with a decrease of surface excitation. There is found in all forms of life, a rhythmic exchange between flowing outward and flowing inward, from the simplest monocellular organisms to the highest metazoon, with the difference that in higher organisms this rhythm is tied to a vegetative nervous system with antithetical parasympathetic and sympathetic functions, while in lower organisms it is connected with the effects of certain chemical elements. These elements form two

chief groups: one with vagus effects, the other with sympathetic effects. To the first group belongs potassium, choline and lecithin; to the second, calcium, adrenalin and cholesterolin. We may name the two groups potassium and calcium groups.

In the light of these and many other related facts, the formula which Reich earlier had stated for the function of the orgasm, tension  $\rightarrow$  charge  $\rightarrow$  discharge  $\rightarrow$  relaxation, came to have a much wider interpretation. Since the rhythmic alteration which is expressed in this formula exists in all living organisms, Reich asked himself if perhaps he had not discovered the formula for living functioning itself. He immediately began experiments to try to find the answer. The first to be successful were his "bion" experiments.

These experiments were based on the consideration that if the orgasm formula is also the formula for living functioning, it should be possible to derive life from lifeless matter, if the material is mixed so that it has the same combination as living matter, and under such circumstances that it is possible to achieve the rhythm expressed in the formula. Reich mixed various sterile substances under the conditions named above; thereupon he found that in and from some of these combinations, life developed; under the microscope one could observe the same movements found in living monocellular organisms. Certain parts of the preparation organized themselves into cells with nuclei and protoplasm, and when they were placed in sterile solutions of the kind usually used for bacterial cultures, they propagated and changed more and more of the medium into living matter. In order to rule out infection through the air, the French researcher Roger du Teil created a method of both sterilizing and mixing the cultures in airtight tubes which made infection impossible; the result was the same. The bion experiments were attacked by the press of Norway, particularly in the spring and

summer of 1938. These attacks were based chiefly on ignorance of the experiments: not one of the critics had tried to master Reich's experimental technique or had himself repeated one single experiment.

As for myself, I am not familiar enough with biological and bacteriologic methods to be able to present more than a layman's conviction, based upon my knowledge of Reich, his writings, and those of his experiments which I have observed. I shall therefore not say anything more about the controversies regarding the bion experiments, but merely try to give a brief résumé of the theories and experiments Reich has developed since.

I stated that in his bion experiments Reich used, among other things, the sterilized remains of lifeless organisms. The living matter created during the experiment was quite different from the organism from which the sterilized matter had first been obtained. In other words, an organism can die and afterwards result in a new kind of spontaneous living matter. Reich connected this fact with an idea which various pathologists had briefly mentioned before: that the living matter causing certain illnesses, such as tuberculosis and cancer, might have originated through spontaneous generation<sup>1</sup> in dead or disintegrated body tissues. Reich believed that if such were the case, it must be possible to find tiny living particles in, for example, cancerous tissue, of the same size and organization as the bions which he had discovered. He examined such tissues, and the examination showed he was right: he discovered tiny living particles which had not been seen earlier and even found it possible to cultivate them in the same kind of cultures used for the bions. He also tried to combine them with bions, and

then it appeared that some of the bions were stronger than others and destroyed the tiny living organisms. During the past few years—since the autumn of 1939 in the United States—Reich has continued these experiments, partly in collaboration with American researchers. The details of this work have not yet arrived in this country, but we know enough to dare hope for important results for both cancer research and cancer therapy.

During his bion experiments, Reich observed certain phenomena which he was unable to explain other than as an unknown radiation from the bions. It seems that people who are vegetatively free radiate energy, not only figuratively speaking, or psychically, but physically. What importance this fact may have for our consideration of and our use of the vegetative energy, it is impossible to say. I will merely mention that many experiments with this energy are now going on in various countries.

I have here tried to describe the development of that branch of research called sex-economy by its founder, Wilhelm Reich, from its beginnings as a clinical theory of the neuroses until it became a theory of the function of the energy of life itself. It began by showing what sexuality means to emotional and to bodily health, thereby laying the basis for the theory of the regulation of the sexual energy (sex-economy). This teaching created a series of new problems and research goals for therapy, pedagogy, the science of religion, sociology and politics and presented new problems for biology, general and special pathology, and finally, for biophysics. The name of sex-economy was retained even in these new, ever-widening fields, although the theory itself may seem to contain much more than this word indicates. Nevertheless there are many good reasons for keeping the old name. First, the historical reason: it was the study of sexuality which was the point of departure and the basis

<sup>1</sup> *Editor's note:* The term "spontaneous generation" is misleading. As ordinarily used, it means something like the development of frogs from rags. For this reason, orgone biophysics uses the term "natural organization."—T.P.W.

for the theory. Further, the fact that up until now the experiments have all made it clear that the sexual energy—libido, in psychoanalytic language—is nothing but the life energy itself. It can perhaps be explained in another way: there is no special “sexual energy”; “sexual energy,” in a more limited sense, is really life-energy directed toward a sexual object. Sexual energy is therefore not just a part of the life-energy, sexuality is a function of the life-energy as a whole, so that when sexuality is free, the life-energy is also free in the same degree. If sexuality is more or less suppressed, the life-energy as a whole

becomes suppressed in the same degree. This concept is such an integral part of our whole theory, and plays such a definitive role in those fields of research the sex-economists have entered upon, that it is reasonable to find it reflected in the name of the theory itself. Finally the name expresses our desire to bring into the light of day and to an honored place, that which unhappily for the world has been most dishonored, condemned and suppressed: sexuality—the basic human desire for happiness and joy in our own bodies and in our fellow-beings.

## THE MASOCHISTIC CHARACTER\*

From Wilhelm Reich's book CHARAKTER-ANALYSE (1933)

*Editor's Note:* There are several reasons for publishing this chapter from Reich's CHARAKTER-ANALYSE at this time.

First, there has been, in recent years, an increasing interest in this book and increasing demands for an English translation of it, particularly from psychoanalysts. Unfortunately, it has not been possible thus far to translate and publish the book. The publication of selected chapters in this JOURNAL may meet these recurring demands, at least in part.

Second, it is a good thing from time to time to go back and point out the historical links between sex-economy of today and the psychoanalytic matrix from which it took its origin. The present chapter plays a singularly important role in the history of sex-economy. Before its publication as a chapter of the CHARAKTER-ANALYSE, it was published as an article in the Internat. Zeitschr. f. Psychoanalyse, vol. 18, 1932. It was a milestone in that it provided the clinical refutation of Freud's theory of the death instinct. For the first time in the history of sexual pathology, the following facts were demonstrated on the basis of clinical investigation:

- a) The manifestations which were erroneously ascribed to a hypothetical death instinct were actually due to a specific form of orgasm anxiety;
- b) masochism is no instinct or drive in the biological sense; it is a *secondary* drive in the sex-economic sense, that is, a result of the repression of natural sexual mechanisms;
- c) there is no such thing as a biological striving for unpleasure, there is no death instinct.

In the succeeding years, parts of this clarification of the problem of masochism were taken over by many psychoanalysts, without mention of their source. But none of them even mentioned the *central* aspect of the problem, that is, the *specific* masochistic disturbance of the orgasm function which expresses itself in a *fear of dying* or *fear of bursting*. Thus, the solution of the problem of masochism remained the exclusive achievement of sex-economy.

The publication of this article in 1932 was accompanied by some rather dramatic events. Freud, as the Herausgeber of the Internat. Zeitschr. f. Psychoanalyse, wanted to have the article published only on the proviso that he would add a note in which he was going to declare that Wilhelm Reich had written this article against the death instinct theory "in the service" of the Communist party. Certain Berlin psychoanalysts who opposed this nonsense suggested another procedure: Reich's article was to be published together with a reply. This was done. This "reply" was written by Siegfried Bernfeld under the title, *Die kommunistische Diskussion um die Psychoanalyse und Reich's "Widerlegung der Todestriebhypothese,"* and appeared in the same number of the Zeitschrift. This article of some 30 pages did not deal with the problem of masochism at all, but with Wilhelm Reich's contributions to Marxist sociology. In other words, since Reich's clinical findings and formulations could not be refuted, an attempt was made to discredit his theory of masochism by the imputation of political, emotional

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\* Translated by the Editor.

motives. This attempt failed thoroughly. We leave it to the reader of the translation of this article to decide whether it is of a clinical or of a political and philosophical nature.

The fact must again be emphasized that the sex-economic clarification of the problem of masochism—which was identical with the clinical refutation of the death instinct theory—represented an enormous step forward in the understanding of the neuroses. For it showed that human suffering was not due to an unalterable “biological will to suffer,” to a “death instinct,” but to the disastrous effect of *social* conditions on the biopsychic apparatus. This entailed the necessity of criticizing the social conditions which created the neuroses—a necessity which the hypothesis of a biological will to suffer had circumvented.

The sex-economic solution of the problem of masochism also opened an avenue of approach into the biological basis of the neuroses. It was precisely the specific masochistic fear of “bursting” which opened the way to an understanding of the functioning of the vegetative life apparatus (*cf.* THE FUNCTION OF THE ORGASM, 1942, pp. 221-255).

The publication in translation of the present work at this time, then, is no less pertinent than it was at the time of its original publication 12 years ago. It shows the nature of certain kinds of so-called scientific criticism in that not a single one of the contentions that were used 12 years ago against Reich's theory of masochism could even be published today. That kind of argumentation never had a rational basis and belongs to a dead past.—T. P. W.

## THE MASOCHISTIC CHARACTER

### 1. RÉSUMÉ OF CONCEPTS

Sexology before Freud held essentially the view that masochism represented a special instinct tendency to derive satisfaction from suffering physical or moral pain. Since these goals are unpleasurable, the central problem was how it is possible that unpleasure should be striven for or should even provide satisfaction. The use of a technical term was only an evasion; "alogagnia" means nothing but a circumlocution of the fact that an attempt is made to derive pleasure from being hurt or offended. Many writers came closer to the truth when they asserted that being beaten was not the immediate aim but only a link in the experience of pleasurable self-depreciation (Krafft-Ebing). Nevertheless, the fundamental formulation was the same: *What the normal person perceives as unpleasure, the masochist perceives as pleasure or, at any rate, as a source of pleasure.*

Psychoanalytic investigation of the latent content and the dynamics of masochism provided a wealth of new insights. Freud discovered that masochism and sadism do not form an absolute antithesis, that one never occurs without the other. Masochism and sadism can each turn into the other. There is a dialectic antithesis, determined by a change from activity to passivity while the ideational content remains the same.<sup>1</sup> Freud's theory of libidinal development distinguishes three main stages of infantile sexuality, oral, anal and genital. At first, sadism was ascribed to the anal phase. Later it was found that each of the stages of sexual development has a form of sadistic aggression corresponding to it. In following up this problem, I found each of the three forms of sadistic aggression

to be a reaction to the frustration of the corresponding partial impulse. According to this concept, the sadism on each level of development results from a mixture of the destructive impulse against the frustrating person with the corresponding sexual demand<sup>2</sup>, in the following way: Sucking, frustration → destructive tendency, biting: *oral sadism*; anal pleasure, frustration → wanting to squash, to step on, to beat: *anal sadism*; genital pleasure, frustration → wanting to pierce; *phallic sadism*. This concept was entirely in harmony with Freud's original formulation that the destructive tendency toward the outer world develops first (usually as a result of frustration) and later turns against the self when it, also, becomes inhibited by frustration and fear of punishment. Sadism, in turning toward the self, becomes masochism; the superego, the representation of the frustrating person, of the demands of society on the ego, becomes the punishing agency (conscience). The guilt feeling correspondings to the destructive impulse which comes into conflict with love.

Later, Freud gave up this concept of masochism as a secondary formation. He replaced it by the converse concept that sadism is masochism turned toward the outer world; he assumed the existence of a *primary biological* tendency to self-destruction, a primary or erogenous masochism. This concept later turned into that of the "death instinct," the antagonist of "eros." Primary masochism was thought of as an expression of a biological death instinct which was based on the processes of dissimilation in every cell of the organism.

The proponents of the theory of the death instinct again and again tried to substantiate their views by pointing to

<sup>1</sup> Freud, "Triebe und Tribschicksale." Ges. Schr., Bd. V, p. 453.

<sup>2</sup> Reich, W.: "Ueber die Quellen der neurotischen Angst." *Int. Zeitschr. f. Psa.* 11, 1926, 427.

physiological processes of dissimulation. None of these attempts was in any way convincing. A recent paper<sup>3</sup> deserves mention because it approaches the problem clinically and sets forth physiological arguments which at first glance seem convincing. Benedek bases her argument on the findings of Ehrenberg. This biologist found that even in the protozoon an antithetical process can be found. Certain processes in the protoplasm lead not only to the assimilation of the food, but also to a precipitation of previously dissolved substances. This first formation of a structure is irreversible; dissolved substances become solid. What assimilates is alive; what develops by way of assimilation, changes the cell, gives it a higher structure which, from a certain point on, i.e., when it gains preponderance, is no longer life, but death. That sounds logical particularly when we remember the hardening of the arteries with advancing age. But this very argument contradicts the assumption of a *tendency* to death, a death *instinct*. What has become solid and immobile hinders life and its cardinal function, the alternation of tension and relaxation, in the gratification of hunger as well as the sexual needs. This disturbance of the life process is exactly the opposite of what characterizes instinct. The rigidity renders the rhythm of tension and relaxation impossible again and again. If we wanted to see an instinct in these processes, we would have to change our concept of the instinct.

If, furthermore, anxiety is considered the expression of a "death instinct become free," it would have to be explained how "solid structures" can become free. Benedek says herself that the structure, that which has become solid, can be considered inimical to life only when it becomes predominant and hinders the life processes.

Furthermore, if the structure-forming processes are synonymous with the death

instinct, if, as Benedek assumes, anxiety corresponds to the inner conception of this increasing solidification, i.e., death, then one would expect children and adolescents not to have any anxiety, while old people would have only anxiety. The exact opposite is the case: anxiety is most pronounced during the periods when sexuality is at its height (i.e., when it is inhibited during these periods). According to this concept, we would find fear of death in the sexually satisfied individual also, since he is subject to the same process of biological dissimulation as the sexually unsatisfied one.

Following up consistently Freud's theory of actual anxiety, I arrived at a modification of his original formula according to which anxiety developed by conversion of libido. I found that anxiety is a manifestation of the same excitation of the vaso-vegetative system which in the sensory system is experienced as sexual pleasure.<sup>4</sup>

Clinical experience shows anxiety to be nothing but the sensation of a constriction ("*angustiae*"), of a stasis; fears (the idea of dangers) become affective anxiety only in the presence of such a stasis. If it should be found later on that the social restriction of sexual gratification accelerates the structure-forming process, that is, dying, this finding would not prove that anxiety is the result of these processes; it would only show the life-inimical effect of sex-negating morality.

The change of the concept of masochism automatically involved a change of the etiological formula of the neurosis. Freud's original concept was that psychic development takes place in the conflict between instinct and outer world. Now the concept came to be that the psychic conflict was the result of a conflict between eros (sexuality, libido) and death instinct (in-

<sup>3</sup> Therese Benedek, "Todestrieb und Angst." *Int. Zeitschr. f. Psa.* 17, 1931.

<sup>4</sup> Reich: *DIE FUNKTION DES ORGASMUS*, 1927, p. 63 ff.

stinct to self-destruction, primary masochism).

The clinical starting point for this dubious hypothesis was the peculiar fact that certain patients seem to be unwilling to relinquish their suffering and keep seeking painful situations. This was in contradiction to the pleasure principle. There seemed to be a hidden inner intention to hold on to the suffering and to experience it again and again. The question was whether this "will to suffer" was a primary biological tendency or a secondary psychic formation. There seemed to be a need for punishment which satisfied the demands of an unconscious guilt feeling by the infliction of self-damage. After the publication of *Jenseits des Lustprinzips*, psycho-analytic writers, led by Alexander, Reik, Nunberg and others, without being aware of it, changed the formula of the neurotic conflict.<sup>5</sup> The original formulation was that the neurosis results from the conflict between instinct and outer world (libido—*fear* of punishment). Now they said the neurosis resulted from the conflict between instinct and need for punishment (libido—*wish* for punishment). The exact opposite. This concept was based on the new hypothesis of the antithesis between eros and death instinct, and made the significance of the frustrating and punishing outer world recede more and more into the background. The answer given to the question, Where does suffering come from? was now: "from the biological will to suffer, from the death instinct and the need for punishment."

<sup>5</sup> The theory of the death instinct dominates psychoanalytic literature at present. Freud, in a talk years ago, called this theory a hypothesis which was outside of clinical experience. In *Jenseits des Lustprinzips* he wrote that "one has to be ready to leave a path one has followed for some time if it does not seem to lead to anything good." In spite of these admonitions, the hypothesis developed into a clinical "theory"; it was not only not given up, it led to no good. Many analysts even contend that they have directly observed the death instinct.

This made one conveniently forget the correct answer which was: from the outer world, from frustrating society. This formulation blocked the avenue of approach to sociology, an avenue which the original formulation of the psychic conflict had opened wide. The theory of the death instinct, of a biological will to self-destruction, leads to a cultural philosophy such as that expressed in Freud's *UNBEHAGEN IN DER KULTUR*; a philosophy which asserts that human suffering is inevitable because the self-destructive tendencies cannot be mastered. Conversely, the original formulation of the psychic conflict leads inevitably to a criticism of the social order.

Placing thus the source of suffering from the outer world, society, into the inner world, was in conflict with the basic original principle of analytic psychology, the "*pleasure-unpleasure-principle*." This is a basic law of the psychic apparatus, according to which man strives for pleasure and tries to escape unpleasure. This principle, according to the original psychoanalytic concepts, determined psychic development and psychic reactions. The "*reality principle*" was not an antithesis to the pleasure principle; it simply meant that reality imposes the necessity of postponing or relinquishing certain pleasures. These "two principles of psychic functioning," as Freud called them, could be valid only as long as the original formulation of masochism was valid, that is, as long as masochism was considered inhibited sadism turned against the self. This was an explanation of masochism within the framework of the pleasure principle, but it still left unanswered the question of how suffering can be a source of pleasure. This was in contradiction to the pleasure function. One could well understand how ungratified and inhibited pleasure could turn into unpleasure, but not the reverse, how unpleasure could turn into pleasure. Thus, the explanation that masochism

consisted in experiencing unpleasure pleasurable meant nothing.

Most psychoanalysts felt that the assumption of a "repetition compulsion" solved the problem of suffering satisfactorily. True, it fitted marvelously the theories of the death instinct and of the need for punishment, but it was a more than dubious assumption. First, it was at variance with the pleasure principle. Second, it introduced into the theory of the pleasure-unpleasure-principle, which was clinically well founded, an undoubtedly metaphysical element, a hypothesis which was not only unproven but incapable of proof, and which caused great damage to analytic theory. The assumption was that of a biological compulsion to repeat situations of unpleasure. The "principle of the repetition compulsion" meant nothing because it was only a term, while the formulation of the pleasure-unpleasure-principle was based on the physiological laws of tension and relaxation. As long as the repetition compulsion was interpreted as the law that every instinct strives for the re-establishment of a state of rest, and as the compulsion to experience once-had pleasure again, no objection could be made. In this form, the concept was a valuable amplification of our concept of the mechanism of tension and relaxation. But, interpreted thus, the repetition compulsion is entirely *within* the framework of the pleasure principle; more than that, the pleasure principle explains the compulsion to repeat the experience. In 1923, still awkwardly, I interpreted the instinct as the characteristic of pleasure to have to be repeated.<sup>6</sup> Thus, the repetition compulsion *within* the pleasure principle is an important theoretical concept.

However, it was just the principle of the repetition compulsion *beyond* the pleasure principle which became important in psychoanalytical theory; this concept was used in an attempt to explain phenomena

which apparently could not be explained by the pleasure principle. But it was not possible to establish clinical proof of the repetition compulsion as a *primary* tendency. It was supposed to explain a great many things and yet could itself not be demonstrated or explained. It led many analysts to the assumption of a super-individual "ananke." This assumption was superfluous for an explanation of the striving for the re-establishment of a state of rest, for this striving is fully explained by the function of the libido to bring about a relaxation. This relaxation is nothing but the re-establishment of the original state of rest, and is implicit in the concept of the instinct. Incidentally, the assumption of a biological striving for death also becomes superfluous when one remembers that the physiological involution of the organism, its gradual dying, sets in as soon as the function of the sexual apparatus, the source of the libido, begins to decline. Dying, thus, is not necessarily anything but the cessation of the function of the vital apparatus.

It was the clinical problem of masochism which clamored for a solution and which led to the unfortunate assumption that a death instinct, a repetition compulsion and a need for punishment were the *basis* of the neurotic conflict. In a controversy with Alexander,<sup>7</sup> who based a whole theory of personality on these assumptions, I myself still adhered to the original theory of masochism as the last possible explanation. True, the question as to how unpleasure could be striven for, how it could turn into pleasure, was already in the air, but I had as yet nothing to say about it. The assumptions of Sadger, of an erogenous masochism, of a specific disposition of buttocks eroticism and skin eroticism to perceive unpleasure as pleas-

<sup>6</sup> Reich, W.: "Zur Trieb-Energetik." *Zeitschr. f. Sexualwissenschaft*, 1923.

<sup>7</sup> Reich, W.: "Strafbedürfnis und neurotischer Prozess. Kritische Bemerkungen zu neueren Auffassungen des Neurosenproblems." *Int. Zeitschr. f. Ps.* 13, 1927.

ure, was not satisfactory either. For why should buttocks eroticism plus pain be perceived as pleasure? And why did the masochist experience as pleasure what others, when beaten on the same erogenous zone, experienced as pain and unpleasure? Freud himself unravelled a part of the question when he discovered behind the phantasy, "A child is being beaten," the original pleasurable situation, "Not I, but my rival is being beaten." Nevertheless, the question why being beaten can be accompanied by pleasure remained. All masochists report that the phantasy or the act of being beaten is pleasurable, and that only with this phantasy can they have pleasure or sexual excitation.

Years of study of masochistic patients gave no clue. Only when I began to doubt the correctness and precision of the patients' statements did the light begin to dawn. It was astounding to see how little one had learned, in spite of decades of analytic work, to analyze the experience of pleasure itself. Exact analysis of the pleasure function revealed a fact which at first was completely confusing but which, nevertheless, suddenly explained the sexual economy and, with that, the specific basis, of masochism. What was surprising and confusing was that the formulation, "the masochist experiences unpleasure as pleasure," proved erroneous. It was shown that, rather, the *specific* pleasure mechanism of the masochist consists in the fact that while he strives for pleasure like any other person, a disturbing mechanism causes this striving to fail and causes him to experience as unpleasurable sensations which the normal person experiences as pleasure, when they exceed a certain intensity. The masochist, far from striving for unpleasure, suffers from a specific intolerance for psychic tensions and an overproduction of unpleasure far greater than in any other neurosis.

In discussing the problem of masochism I shall take as my point of departure not

the masochistic perversion, as is usual, but its characterological reaction basis. I shall illustrate with the history of a patient who was treated for almost four years and which solved questions which a number of previously treated cases had not answered but which became clear in retrospect from the results of this case.

## 2. THE ARMORING OF THE MASOCHISTIC CHARACTER

Only the smallest minority of masochistic characters also develop a masochistic perversion. The sexual economy of the masochist can be understood only from an understanding of his character reactions. Therefore, in presenting this case, we follow the path which every psychoanalytic treatment has to follow if it is to do more than explain the case theoretically and is to establish genital primacy with orgasmic potency.

Every character formation serves two functions. First, the armoring of the ego against the outer world and the inner instinctual demands; second, the economic function of absorbing the excess of sexual energy which results from sexual stasis, or in other words, of keeping this energy from manifesting itself as anxiety. While this is equally true of any character formation, the form in which these functions are fulfilled are specific, that is, different for the various forms of neurosis. Every character type develops its own mechanisms. It is, of course, insufficient to know the basic functions of the character (defense and prevention of anxiety) in a patient; one has to find out quite early in which specific manner the character serves this function. Since the character absorbs the greater part of the libido (and anxiety); since, further, it is our task to liberate essential amounts of sexual energy from its chronic anchoring in the character and to make it available to the genital apparatus and to sublimation, the analysis

of the character leads us to the root of the pleasure function.

Let us summarize the main traits of the masochistic character. These traits are found, individually, in all neurotic characters. Together, they form the masochistic character only when they are all present, and when they determine the key to the personality and its typical reactions. Typical masochistic character traits are the following: subjectively, a chronic sensation of *suffering*, which appears objectively as a *tendency to complain*; chronic tendencies to *self-damage* and *self-depreciation* ("moral masochism") and a compulsion to *torture others* which makes the patient suffer no less than the object. All masochistic characters show a specifically *awkward, atactic behavior* in their manners and in their intercourse with others, often so marked as to give the impression of mental deficiency. There may be other traits, but these are the typical and specific ones.

It is important to remember that this character-neurotic syndrome may be obvious on the surface in some cases, while in many other cases it is covered up by a superficial mask.

Like any other character attitude, the masochistic attitude shows not only in interpersonal relationships, but also in the inner life of the person. Attitudes which originally were attached to objects are maintained toward the introjected objects, the superego. Frequently, this is of decisive importance. What was originally external and then became internalized, must again be externalized in the analytic transference: in the transference behavior that is repeated which was acquired in infancy in the relationship with the object.

The patient from whose case history excerpts are given here came to analysis with the following complaints: Since the age of 16, he had been completely incapable of working and had no social interests whatsoever. Sexually, there was a severe mas-

ochistic perversion. He never had had sexual intercourse, but masturbated every night for hours in a way which is typical of pregenital libidinal structures. He would roll around on his stomach with the phantasy that a man or a woman was beating him with a whip; during this he would squeeze his penis. That is, he did not masturbate like a genital character who will induce sexual excitation by more or less regular friction. Instead, he would knead the penis, squeeze it between his legs or roll it between the palms. *As soon as the ejaculation approached, he would hold back and wait until the excitation had subsided, whereupon he would start anew.* In this way he would masturbate for hours, every night, often also during the day, until he was completely exhausted and finally permitted an ejaculation. The ejaculation did not take place in rhythmic spurts; the semen would simply flow out. Afterwards he felt exhausted, leaden, incapable of doing anything, depressed, tortured, "masochistic." He found it almost impossible to get himself out of bed in the morning. In spite of the most severe guilt feelings, he could not stop this "lazing in bed." The whole thing he later called the "masochistic bog." The more he rebelled against it, the less was he able to work himself out of this "masochistic mood"; on the contrary, he got into it all the more deeply. At the time when he came for treatment, this kind of sexual life had already lasted several years. The effect on his whole being and his emotional life had been disastrous.

The first impression I gained of him was that of an individual barely able, with all his will power, to hold himself together. This was partly covered up by a very refined and poised behavior; he talked about his ambition of becoming a mathematician. In the analysis, this turned out to be a well-developed idea of grandeur. For years he had been wandering alone through the woods of Germany,

thinking out a mathematical system which would make it possible to calculate and change the whole world. This superficial compensation disintegrated very soon in the analysis when I made him understand its function. It served the function of counteracting the feeling of his absolute worthlessness which, in connection with his masturbation—which he experienced as “filth” and a “morass”—was constantly being reproduced. The “mathematician,” the symbol of the pure scientist and asexual individual, was to cover up the “morass individual.” The fact is not important here that the patient gave the definite impression of an incipient schizophrenia of the hebephrenic type. What is important here is only that the “pure” mathematics was a protection against the “filthy” feeling of himself which was due to his anal type of masturbation.

With the dissolution of his superficial mask the masochistic attitude made its full appearance. Every treatment hour began with a complaint. Soon there was frank masochistic provocation of an infantile sort. When I asked him to amplify or explain some statement, he would try to nullify my endeavors by such outcries as “I won’t, I won’t, I won’t.” In this connection we found that as a boy of 4 or 5 he had gone through a phase of the most severe spite with attacks of yelling and kicking. These occurred on the slightest provocation and made his parents desperate, helpless and furious. Occasionally, such attacks would last for days, until they ended in complete exhaustion. Later he found out by himself that this phase of spite had ushered in his masochism.

The first phantasies of being beaten appeared at the age of about 7. Not only did he fantasize that he was taken across somebody’s knee and beaten; he often went to the bathroom, locked himself in and tried to whip himself. A scene from the third year of life, which did not appear until the second year of the analysis, was un-

doubtedly a traumatic scene. He had been playing in the garden and had soiled his pants. Since there were guests present, his psychopathic and sadistic father got furious, carried him inside and put him on a bed. The boy *immediately turned on his stomach and waited for the beating with great curiosity, mixed with anxiety*. The blows were heavy, but the boy had a feeling of relief; a typically masochistic experience which was his first.

Had the beating given him pleasure? Further analysis showed unequivocally that he had anticipated something far worse. He had so quickly turned on the stomach in order to protect his genitals from the father,<sup>8</sup> and *for this reason had experienced the blows on the buttocks as a great relief*; they were harmless compared to the anticipated injury to the genital and this relieved him of a good deal of anxiety.

In order to understand masochism as a whole, one must clearly comprehend this basic mechanism. With this, we are ahead of our story, for this did not become fully clear until after one and a half years’ treatment. Until then, the time had been mostly taken up with the attempts, at first fruitless, to master the patient’s masochistic spite reactions.

Later on, the patient described his masturbatory behavior like this: “As if I were turned with screws from my back to my stomach.” At first I thought this was a beginning phallic sexuality, until I found that it was a defensive action. *The penis had to be protected; rather suffer blows on the buttocks than have the penis injured*. This basic mechanism also determined the role of the beating phantasy. *What later became a masochistic wish had originally been a fear of punishment*. The

<sup>8</sup> This mechanism was stressed by Freud in his article, *Das ökonomische Problem des Masochismus* (Ges. Schr., V, p. 378). Its clinical examination, however, does not lead to the hypothesis of a primary masochism, but, on the contrary, to its refutation.

masochistic beating phantasy thus anticipates in a milder form an expected heavy punishment. Alexander's formulation that by satisfying the need for punishment one purchases sexual pleasure has to be correspondingly interpreted. One does not punish oneself in order to placate or "bribe" one's superego, whereupon pleasure can be experienced without anxiety. Rather, the masochist approaches pleasurable activity like any other person, *but the fear of punishment interferes*. The masochistic self-punishment is *not* the execution of the dreaded punishment, but of a milder substitute punishment. It represents a specific mode of defense against punishment and anxiety. A part of this is the passive-feminine attitude toward the punishing person so frequently found in masochistic characters. Our patient once proffered his buttocks in order to be beaten, as he said. In reality, this wanting-to-be-beaten was an offering of himself as a woman (in the sense of Freud's interpretation of the passive beating phantasy as a substitute for a passive-feminine desire). The non-masochistic passive-feminine character fulfills this function of defense against the threat of castration by a purely anal attitude, without adding the beating phantasy to ward off anxiety.

This leads in a straight line to the question whether a striving for unpleasure is possible. We shall postpone the discussion of this question until the character-analysis of this patient has provided the necessary basis.

In the analysis, the infantile spiting phase of our patient was reactivated in a completely undisguised and uninhibited manner. The analysis of the crying spells lasted about six months, but it resulted in the complete elimination of this way of reacting. At first it was not easy to induce the patient to reactivate the spiteful actions of his childhood. His reaction was that a refined person, a mathematical genius, could not do such things. However, it was

unavoidable. If this layer of the character was to be unmasked as a defense against anxiety and was to be eliminated, it had to be first reactivated to the full extent. When the patient started his "I won't," I first tried interpretation, but my endeavors were completely ignored. So I began to imitate the patient; when I gave an interpretation of his behavior, I immediately added the "I won't" myself. At one time he reacted suddenly with involuntary kicking. I seized the opportunity and asked him to let himself go completely. At first he could not understand how anybody could ask him to do a thing like that. But more and more he began to thrash around on the couch, which behavior turned into highly emotional spiteful yelling and inarticulate, animal-like sounds. A particularly violent attack of this kind occurred one day when I pointed out to him that his defense of his father was only a mask for his tremendous hatred of him. I did not hesitate to grant to him that this hatred had a good deal of rational justification. After this, his actions began to assume an almost frightening character. He yelled so that the people in the house began to get fearful. However, this was the only avenue of approach to his deep emotions; only in this way was he able to re-live his infantile neurosis fully and affectively, not just in the form of recollections. Again and again, it was possible to deepen his insight into his behavior. Its meaning was a grandiose *provocation of the adults*, and, in a transferred sense, of my person. But, the question was, *why did he provoke?*

Other masochistic patients try to provoke the analyst with the typical masochistic silence. Our patient did it with infantile spite reactions. It took a long time until I could make him understand that his provocation was an attempt to make me strict and to drive me furious. But this was only the superficial meaning of the behavior. If the deeper meaning is

so often overlooked it is because of the erroneous belief that the masochist seeks punishment in itself, for the gratification of a guilt feeling. In reality it is not a matter of punishment at all, but of *placing the analyst, or his prototype, the parent, in a bad light*, of provoking him into a behavior which would rationally justify the reproach, "You see how badly you treat me." This provocation of the analyst is, without exception, one of the first great difficulties in any masochistic character. Without uncovering this meaning, one will not get one step further.

What is the meaning of thus provoking the analyst, of placing him in a bad light? The meaning is: "You are bad, you don't love me. On the contrary, you are cruel to me, and I have a right to hate you." The justification of the hatred and the reduction of the guilt feeling through this mechanism are, however, only intermediate processes. True, if one assumes guilt feeling and need for punishment to be manifestations of a biological death instinct, one will be inclined to the belief that with the discovery of the rationalization of the hatred and the provocation of the object one has hit rock bottom. But the main problem of the masochistic character is not his guilt feeling, nor is it his need for punishment, no matter how important they seem to be. Why, then, does the masochist try to place his object in a bad light?

Behind the provocation there is a deep *disappointment in love*. The provocation is directed especially against those objects who caused a disappointment, that is, objects which were loved intensely and who either actually disappointed or who did not sufficiently gratify the child's love. The actual disappointments in the masochistic character are intensified by a particularly high need for love which makes a real gratification impossible and which has specific inner reasons which will be discussed later.

As time went on and the patient became convinced that he could not make me furious, the behavior persisted, but for a different reason. Now it gave him obvious pleasure to let himself go. His acting out became a hindrance; the hours were filled with infantile kicking and yelling. Now I could show him that his provocation originally had served a second purpose, namely to see how far he could go with his naughtiness before I would withdraw my love and proceed to punishment. He had convinced himself that he need not be afraid; he could be naughty without being punished. The continued naughty behavior, then, showed the fear of punishment to be unfounded and thus was a source of pleasure. It had nothing at all to do with any wish to be punished though I searched assiduously for it. At the same time there were continued complaints about his condition, about the morass he could not get out of and—implicitly—I did not help him to get out of. Masturbation continued in the same manner and put him daily in the "morass" mood to which he gave vent in complaints, that is, in masked reproaches. Under these circumstances the analysis made no progress. To prohibit the spite reactions was out of the question; it might have stopped everything. So I began to show him a reflection of himself. When I opened the door, he would stand there with a drawn face, in an attitude of utter dejection. I would imitate his attitude. I began to use his infantile language, I lay on the floor and kicked and yelled as he did. At first he was surprised, but one day he began to laugh, in an absolutely adult and unneurotic way; a breakthrough, although only temporary, had succeeded. I repeated these procedures until he himself began to analyze the situation.

What was the meaning of the provocation? It was his way of *demanding love*, as it is the way of all masochistic characters. He needed proofs of love which

would reduce his anxiety and inner tension. The more his unfortunate masturbation increased his tension, the more he intensified his demand for love. The more he had the "morass feeling," the more intensive became his masochistic attitude, that is, his demand for love. But why was this demand made in this *indirect, disguised* manner? Why did he fight any interpretation of his affection? Why did his complaints continue?

His complaints had the following layers of meaning, corresponding to the genesis of his masochism. "Look how miserable I am; please love me"—"You don't love me enough, you treat me badly"—"You must love me, I shall force you to; or else I'm going to annoy you." The masochistic torturing, the masochistic complaint, provocation and suffering all explain themselves on the basis of the frustration, fantasied or actual, of a demand for love which is excessive and cannot be gratified. This mechanism is *specific* for the masochistic character and no other form of neurosis; if it occurs in other neuroses, one also finds the corresponding masochistic element in the character.

What is the meaning of the excessive demand for love? The answer is given by an analysis of the masochistic character's *disposition to anxiety*. The masochistic behavior and the demand for love always increase in proportion to the unpleasurable tension, the readiness to anxiety or the danger of loss of love. It is typical of the masochistic character to avoid anxiety by wanting to be loved. Just as the complaints are a disguised demand for love and the provocation an attempt to force love, so is the total masochistic character an *unsuccessful* attempt to liberate himself of anxiety and unpleasure. It is unsuccessful because, in spite of these attempts, he never gets rid of the inner tension which constantly threatens to turn into anxiety. *The feeling of suffering, then, corresponds to the actual facts of a continuous high in-*

*ner tension and readiness to anxiety*. This becomes clearer if we compare the masochistic character with the compulsion-neurotic affect block. Here, the assimilation of anxiety has been successful. True, at the expense of psychic motility, but the inner tension is completely consumed by a well-functioning psychic apparatus, with the result that there is no restlessness. If the latter is present it means an insufficiency of the character armor.

The masochistic character attempts to allay the inner tension and the threatening anxiety by an inadequate method, that is, by *demands for love in the form of provocation and spite*. Of course, this has its special reasons, that is, this manner of voicing a demand for love is specifically masochistic. The essential element in the failure is, however, that the spite and the provocation are directed against the very person who is loved and from whom love is demanded. In this way, the fear of losing love is increased; similarly, the guilt feeling, instead of being decreased, increases, because it is the loved person who is being tortured. This explains the peculiar behavior of the masochist: the more he tries to get out of his situation of suffering, the more he gets entangled in it.

The attitudes thus far mentioned are found, individually, in other characters also. Only their combination is specific of the masochistic character. But what causes this combination?

We mentioned the *excessive* demand for love. We have to add that this is based on *fear of being left alone* which the masochist experienced intensely in very early childhood. The masochistic character can tolerate being left alone no more than the threat of losing a love relationship. The fact that masochistic characters so often get lonely is the secondary result of the attitude, "See, how miserable, alone, and deserted I am." Our patient, during a discussion of his relationship with his mother, said once in great excitement:

"To be left alone means death, means the end of my life." This content, in different words, I have heard very often from masochistic characters. The masochistic character cannot tolerate giving up an object (hence the masochistic sticking to a love object), any more than he can divest it of its protective role. He does not tolerate the loss of contact and tries to re-establish it in his inadequate way, that is, by showing himself miserable. Many of these characters develop the feeling of being alone in the universe.

A number of psychoanalytic authors (e.g., Sadger and Federn) have pointed out that skin eroticism plays a special role in masochism. They made the mistake, though, of considering skin eroticism the immediate basis of the masochistic perversion; analysis shows, however, that this is the case only under certain conditions and by way of a very complicated development. Only the fear of being left alone is based directly on the fear which may arise when the contact with the skin of the beloved person is lost. Let us summarize the symptoms which, in the erogenous masochist, refer to the skin. There is always some kind of wish for activity at the skin or at least phantasies of it: to be pinched, brushed, whipped, fettered, to make the skin bleed, etc. The buttocks play an important part here, but only indirectly, as a result of an anal fixation. All these wishes have in common that the patient wants to feel the *warmth of the skin*, not pain. If a patient wants to be whipped, it is not because he wants to feel pain; the pain is taken in the bargain because of the "burning." Many masochists fantasy directly that their skin is being burned. Cold, on the other hand, is abhorrent. This also explains the "lazing in bed" as a gratification of the need for skin warmth.

This is easily understood from the physiology of anxiety and pleasure. Contraction of the peripheral vessels increases anxiety (pallor of fright, feeling cold when

scared); the sensation of skin warmth which is based on dilatation of the peripheral vessels and a greater blood flow, is a specific part of the pleasure syndrome.

It is not easy to understand why bodily contact with a beloved person relieves anxiety. Probably both the direct body heat as well as the innervation of the peripheral vessels in the expectation of maternal protection alleviate the central tension.<sup>9</sup> In this context it is sufficient to point out that the peripheral vasodilatation, which relieves the inner tension and anxiety, is the erogenous basis of the masochistic character. His later striving to avoid the loss of contact is only the psychic reflection of an actual physiological process. To be left alone in the world means being cold and unprotected, and an intolerable condition of tension.

Oral fixation does not seem to have a specific significance in masochism, though it is always present to a marked degree, as in all pregenital characters. There is no doubt that the oral demands contribute to the insatiable character of the masochistic love demands. But the oral demands in masochism seem to be more the result of a regression to an early disappointment in the love object and consecutive fear of being deserted, than a primary cause of the masochistic need for love.

Several cases disclosed another source of their excessive need for love: the fear of being left alone set in at a time when violent aggression and infantile sex curiosity—unlike the previous oral and anal impulses—met with serious rebuff from the beloved parents. The enormous fear of punishment which prevents the progress to genitality is a result of this contradiction

<sup>9</sup> Footnote, 1944: The orgone energy which was discovered in 1939 provides the explanation for this phenomenon: The alleviation of the child's anxiety by bodily contact with the mother is explained, orgone-biophysically, by the organotic expansion of the child's biosystem which reaches out for the mother. There is a contact between the orgone fields of the two organisms.

between sexual impulses which are permitted, even encouraged, on the one hand, and impulses which are threatened with severe punishment on the other hand. Our patient was allowed to eat as much as he pleased, in fact, he was encouraged to eat much; he was allowed to lie in bed with his mother, to embrace and stroke her; there was much interest in his excretory functions. But when he proceeded to new possibilities of sexual gratification, when he began to show interest in his mother's genital and wanted to touch her, he met the full severity of parental authority.

To the extent to which oral demands play a role in masochism, they determine, as in other forms of neurosis, the depressive tendencies. What is specific for masochism is the combination of skin eroticism, anality and the fear of being left alone which the masochist tries to master by bodily contact. This erogenous disposition is one of the chief causes of the excessive demand for love which has the specific nuance of "warm me" (= "protect me"). The "beat me" is already a disguised expression of this demand. It looks as if the masochist had received too little love and for this reason had developed such a strong demand for love. This is correct only insofar as he has always suffered severe frustrations of love; but very often the excessive demand is also a result of over-coddling. This excessive character of the love demand is in turn the result of certain harmful educational influences which are characteristic of the patriarchal system.

The question here is what determines the erogenous disposition of the masochistic character. It is not simply an anal or skin-erotic disposition, but the result of a specific combination of external influences upon the erogenicity of the skin as well as upon the total sexual apparatus which create the basis of the masochistic character. Only when we know these in-

fluences can we understand the other character traits of the masochist.

### 3. INHIBITED EXHIBITIONISM AND TENDENCY TO SELF-DEPRECIATION

We shall now turn to the discussion of a few other masochistic character traits, this time in connection with the sexual structure of the masochist. I shall report only those analytic findings which, taken together, are specific for masochism, as well as those which are at the basis of the masochistic disturbance of the pleasure mechanism.

It had taken about a year to break through the character armor of spite, provocation and complaining sufficiently to break through into early childhood and, more importantly, to the point where the patient actively participated in the analytic work. After this, particularly after the repression of his hatred for his father and his fear of him had been dissolved, there was a powerful breakthrough of his genitality. He had erections, his masturbation was no longer masochistic, and he had genital desires for a woman. An initial failure of his genital attempts led to the analysis of his deep, specifically anal love for his mother. While he made rapid progress, the following was striking:

His approach to women was very vigorous, but at the same time he could not get rid of a feeling of an *inner struggle* and *artificiality*. This again and again gave rise to masochistic complaints that, in spite of external improvement, he did not feel well: "Nothing has changed about the masochistic morass."

The slightest incident was enough to cause an immediate disappointment; the least difficulty made him retreat from reality into his masochistic phantasies. This oscillation between attempts to establish genital reality and rapid retreats into masochism lasted for many months. I knew that his castration anxiety had not been worked out and that this was the

reason. The concentration of the work on this aspect brought a wealth of interesting results. To begin with, the patient, who previously had shown no trace of genital interest, proved full of genital anxieties. Only a few examples: the vagina is a "morass," full of snakes and worms; the tip of his penis is snipped off; one sinks into an abyss and does not find one's way out. The discussion of all these anxieties, however, did not change his labile condition in the least; for months, every hour began with his masochistically voiced complaint that he was "inwardly broken." An analysis of the transference situation showed again and again his passive-anal tendencies, specifically, the fact that he retreated from the woman as soon as a rival appeared. The idea of having a small penis seemed for some time incapable of correction. His attitude toward a rival was one of envy. This was, however, immediately covered up by a passive-feminine attitude; this is a well-known mechanism of warding off the fear of the father. However, even deep-reaching analysis of these attitudes did not change his feeling that, in spite of external successes, he remained a masochist.

After the first attempts at coitus in which he had been erectively potent, though unsatisfied, he developed a syphilophobia. One day he showed me his penis, asking me whether a small erosion was the sign of syphilitic infection. It was immediately clear that he wanted to exhibit himself. Now, the analysis immediately clarified an important point in his genital development. It turned out that as a child he had reached the genital phase only in the form of exhibiting his penis and that *his mother had rebuffed him severely*. This genital disappointment was all the more severe in that his mother had not only not prohibited his anal exhibition, but encouraged it by the intense interest which she had shown in his excretory functions. In fact, she used to go to the bathroom

with him when he was as much as ten years old. The pleasure which he had derived from anal exhibition was the reason for his initiating the genital phase with exhibition of the penis. The analysis showed that his first attempts at a genital approach to his mother had been exhibitionistic. This impulse had soon been repressed and this repression resulted later in a severe inhibition in his general behavior. In his attempts at coitus, he never dared to show himself naked to the woman or to let her touch his penis. After the analysis of this element he seriously began to look for a profession, and decided to become a photographer. He started out by buying a camera and by snapping everything that he came across. This showed again how important the elimination of genital repression is for sublimation. Today he is very good in his profession. But for a long time he still lacked the inner satisfaction in his work: "I don't feel myself, but when I do, masochistically miserable."

Exhibitionistic onset of the genital phase with immediate strict prohibition and repression of exhibitionistic impulses and complete inhibition of further genital development is specific of the masochistic character. It is just as typical and specific as early phallic sadism and its inhibition and anal-sadistic fixation are for compulsion neurosis. This is at the basis of some character traits which determine the awkward, atactic manner of the masochist. Our patient described this inner situation as follows: "I feel like an officer who, sword drawn, runs far ahead of his troops, suddenly turns around and finds that nobody has followed him."

This feeling is connected with another character trait: Masochistic characters *cannot stand praise* and have a strong tendency to *self-depreciation*. In spite of a great ambition, our patient could not stand being near the top in his class. "If I remained a good student I would feel as

if I were standing in front of a crowd, showing my erect penis." This was by no means an incidental remark such as are made so often during an analysis; it went to the core of the matter. The inhibition and repression of genital exhibition leads to a severe impairment of sublimation, activity and self-confidence in later life. In the masochist, this inhibition goes as far as the development of contrary traits. The narcissistic character exhibits in a disguised form; the masochistic character uses a reaction formation, the exact opposite of exhibition: *self-depreciation, in order not to stand out*. He lacks the self-confidence of the genital character.

For these reasons, the masochistic character cannot be a leader, although he usually develops grandiose phantasies of heroism. His anal fixation makes him passive, and in addition, the inhibition of exhibitionism leads to self-depreciation. This structure of the ego is in conflict with an active, phallic ego-ideal which cannot make itself felt. This conflict creates another tension and another source of suffering which reinforces the masochistic process. The picture of the officer illustrates this ego-ideal which the masochist must hide, must be ashamed of, because the ego (the troops) do not—and cannot—follow.

In this connection a character trait needs to be mentioned which is common in masochists and children with masochistic tendencies: *to feel stupid or to make oneself appear stupid*. To exploit every inhibition for the purpose of self-depreciation is in full harmony with the masochistic character. One patient said one day he could not stand praise because it made him feel as if he were standing there with his pants down. One should not underestimate the significance of the anal fixation, of the exhibition of the buttocks, for the genital development of the child. The feeling of shame acquired in connection with anal activities is later transferred to

the genital. Since any praise represents a provocation of exhibitionistic tendencies, since, further, to show oneself is connected with severe anxiety, the masochist must make himself small in order to avoid this anxiety. Having done so, he has an additional reason to feel neglected, which in turn provokes the whole need for love.

"Stupidity" or pretending stupidity also belongs here. Our patient once described an infantile scene in which he pretended stupidity, as follows: "I want something I don't get, then I get annoyed and stupid. But how much do they love me, even though I make myself stupid? When I'm not loved, I'm not worth loving and must make myself all the more ugly and stupid."

Now we can answer the question why the masochistic character expresses his demand for love in such a disguised form, why he is completely incapable of showing or demanding love directly. Another patient would always, when he wanted to win a woman, show himself miserable. He had a panicky fear of showing his love directly because the woman might get angry and might punish or shame him. He had the same inhibited exhibitionism as our patient.

All this taken together causes a feeling of inner ataxy, often a painful embarrassment about appearance. The inhibition of the ability to show and demand love openly brings about all kinds of distorted expressions and makes a person, as our patient put it, "bureaucratic," that is, unnatural and stiff. Behind this there is always a fear of disappointment or rebuff. Our patient once said: "I am confronted with the task of inserting a penis which is not erect into a vagina which is not offered to me."

In the place of frank manifestation of love, the hysterical character develops anxiety; the compulsive character, hatred and guilt feeling; and the masochistic character shows and demands love under the

disguise of complaining, provoking and showing himself miserable. These differences correspond fully to the specific genesis: the hysterical character has developed his genitality fully, but it is anxiety-laden; the compulsive character has replaced his genitality by phallic sadism; the masochistic character has reached genitality on the exhibitionistic level, then repressed it and now expresses his love in a specifically distorted form.

#### 4. UNPLEASURABLE PERCEPTION OF INCREASE IN SEXUAL EXCITATION: THE SPECIFIC BASIS OF THE MASOCHISTIC CHARACTER

There is no neurotic structure without some form of genital disturbance. In the masochistic character the disturbances of the orgasm are of a specific form. Often they do not become obvious until the impotence or anesthesia have been more or less eliminated; this explains the fact that hitherto they were completely overlooked. We have already seen that the masochistic character has an increased production of unpleasure which gives his feeling of suffering a real basis. We have further seen that the masochist constantly tries to master his tension and disposition to anxiety by inadequate mechanisms; more than that, it is typical of the masochistic character that his attempts to avoid anxiety only cause more tension and unpleasure, which, in a vicious circle, again increases the disposition to anxiety. We have also found that the masochistic punishment, or the phantasy of it, represents a substitute for another punishment which is expected.

Can the experience of an anxiety, such as our patient had at the age of three, produce the masochistic fixation of the phantasy of being beaten? No, for the patient could, as others do, completely relinquish the sexual impulse which provokes the dreaded punishment; in doing so, he could save himself the masochistic solution of the punishment situation

which only brings suffering. Thus, there must be something additional at the basis of the specific masochistic mechanism.

This mechanism cannot be detected until the patient has progressed to the genital level, that is, until he develops genital impulses. Then one encounters a new difficulty. The patient develops a strong genital desire which at first eliminates much of his masochistic attitude, but on the occasion of his first actual genital experience he feels unpleasure instead of pleasure; as a result of this, he is thrown back into the masochistic "morass" of his anal and sadomasochistic pregenitality. It was years before it became clear that the "incurability of the masochist, who *wants to hold on to his suffering*" was due only to our defective knowledge of his sexual functioning. The solution could not have been found if I had adhered to the concept that the masochist wants to suffer because of an unconscious guilt feeling or need for punishment due to a death instinct.

This does not mean a denial of the fact that self-punishment can ease the conscience. But this fact must be properly evaluated. The relief of guilt feelings through punishment is a superficial process which does not touch the core of the personality; it is relatively rare, and, in addition, is a symptom and not the cause of a neurosis. On the other hand, the conflict between sexual desire and fear of punishment is a central fact in every neurosis; without this conflict there is no neurotic process; it is itself not a symptom, but the cause of the neurosis. The recent psychoanalytic evaluation of the need for punishment has resulted in a misleading modification of the psychoanalytic theory of the neuroses and the theory of therapy; it blocked the way to a prevention of the neuroses and obscured the sexual and social origin of the neuroses.

The masochistic character is based on a very peculiar *spastic attitude* not only

in his psychic but also in his genital apparatus which *immediately inhibits any strong pleasure sensation and thus changes it into unpleasure*. This constantly nourishes the suffering which is at the basis of the masochistic character reactions. It goes without saying that—no matter how thoroughly we analyze the meaning and genesis of the masochistic character—we will not achieve any therapeutic result unless we penetrate to the genesis of this spastic attitude. Otherwise we cannot establish orgasmic potency which alone is capable of eliminating the inner source of unpleasure and anxiety. Let us return to our patient.

On the occasion of his first coitus, he had an erection, but he did not dare move his penis in the vagina. At first we thought this was due to bashfulness or ignorance; it took some time to find the real reason. *He was afraid of an increase in pleasurable excitation*. This is certainly, at first glance, a peculiar behavior. We, always see it during the cure of orgasmic impotence, especially in previously frigid women. In the masochist, however, it has a specific character. This will become clear from the material.

After the patient had had intercourse a few times it became clear that it provided far less pleasure than his masochistic masturbation. Nevertheless, he was able to imagine genital pleasure vividly, which became a powerful incentive in the treatment. The relative absence of genital pleasure was serious. For there is no other way of putting pregenital pleasure out of function than the establishment of the more intense genital pleasure. The absence of pleasure in the act certainly was no incentive to the development of his genitality.

In the course of further attempts, a new disturbance made its appearance: the erection disappeared during the act. Was this due only to castration anxiety, or was there something more? Further analysis

of his castration fears failed to change the condition. Finally it turned out that the cramping of the musculature of the pelvic floor before ejaculation took place in masturbation was of greater significance than it had appeared at first. I am going to summarize the infantile material which shows that the masochist—in spite of his seemingly free and excessive anal and urethral gratification—has an *anal and urethral inhibition and anxiety* which goes back to early infancy. This inhibition is later transferred to the genital function and provides the immediate basis for his excessive production of unpleasure.

Between the ages of 3 and 6, our patient developed a fear of the toilet. He had the idea that an animal might crawl into his behind. With this, he began to hold back his stools which in turn created the fear of soiling his pants. If one soils one's pants, one gets a beating from father. This he had learned from that impressive scene which occurred when he was about three. If father beats one, there is also a danger of castration; in order to avoid injury to the genital, one must divert the blows to the buttocks. Nevertheless, he developed the fear that on these occasions, when he was lying on his stomach, he might get a splinter into his penis. All this together created a spastic condition of the musculature of the pelvic floor, of the genitals and the rectum. The resulting constipation intensified his mother's concern about his bowel movements, which created another conflict: while the mother showed intense interest in his bowel movements, the father beat him for it. This resulted in the predominantly anal foundation of his Oedipus complex. The patient soon developed the further fear that the bladder or the rectum might burst, that, in other words, the holding back was to no avail and he would again fall victim to his father's beatings. A hopeless situation which certainly was not of biological but of purely social origin. It should be men-

tioned that the father loved to pinch the buttocks of his children and that he used to threaten that he would "take their skins off" if they did not behave.

The boy had an anal fear of his father, together with an anal fixation to his mother, and a tendency to beat himself. Because of the relaxation and gratification connected with it, he felt his evacuation to be punishable; out of fear of his father's punishment, he began to beat himself. Plainly, this simple process is far more important for the pathology of this case than the identification with the punishing father and the masochistic attitude toward a developing anal superego. We have to keep in mind that such pathological identifications are in themselves neurotic formations; they are a result and not a cause of the neurosis.<sup>10</sup> True, we found all the complicated relations between ego and superego, but we did not stop there; the more important task was that of strictly differentiating those masochistic findings which corresponded to the actual behavior of the father from those which corresponded to inner erogenous impulses. This case, like many others, showed plainly that our educational methods deserve much more attention; that we distribute our attention very poorly if we turn 98% of it to analytic detail work and only 2% to the gross damages which are inflicted on the children *by the parents*. It is in this way that psychoanalytic findings fail to lead to the necessary criticism of patriarchal family upbringing.

In our patient, the infantile conflict situation was mainly due to the conflicting behavior of mother and father, respectively, with regard to anality. This conflict deter-

mined not only his feminine attitude toward the man (father) but also his feeling of emptiness and impotence. Later, the patient would feel himself impotent as soon as he got near an adult man; becoming afraid, he would withdraw his interest from the genital and would become anal, passive; this expressed itself in his admiration for these men.

All this allows the following conclusions: The customary training to excremental cleanliness (too early and too strict) leads to the fixation of anal pleasure; the associated idea of being beaten is definitely unpleasurable and at first anxiety-laden. It would be erroneous to say that the unpleasure of being beaten turns into pleasure. Rather, the *fear of being beaten prevents the development of pleasure*. This mechanism, acquired on an anal level, later is transferred to the genital.

As late as puberty, the patient still often slept with his mother in the same bed. At the age of 17, he developed a phobia about his mother becoming pregnant by him. The closeness to his mother and her body warmth stimulated his masturbation. The ejaculation had the meaning of urinating at his mother, as was to be expected in view of his specific development. If the mother should become pregnant, this would be proof of his urethral incest and severe punishment would threaten. At this point he began to hold back the semen and to masturbate with vivid masochistic phantasies. This was the actual onset of his disease. He became incapable of work at school. After an attempt at "self-analysis" which failed, there was a progressive psychic emptiness, together with nightly masturbation of the protracted, anal-masochistic kind.

The final breakdown was ushered in by a severe stasis neurosis with irritability, insomnia and migraine-like headaches. At that time he experienced a strong increase of his genital urge. He was in love with a girl, but did not dare approach her; he

<sup>10</sup> The neurosis is caused by the conflict between pleasure (ego) and punishing outer world, and is maintained by the conflict between ego and superego. The superego continues to function on the basis of the ever-repeated experience that sexual pleasure is punishable. The effect of the childhood inhibition is decisively supported by social actuality.

was afraid that he would "gas" her, and felt he was dying of shame at the very thought of it. He would follow girls at some distance, having vivid phantasies that they were "pressing their bellies against each other" and that that would result in a pregnancy which would give them away. In this behavior, his fear of being rebuffed because of his anal tendencies, played an important role. We see here a typical puberty situation: inhibition of genitality partly by the social barriers, partly by neurotic fixations resulting from earlier damage to the sexual structure by education.

At first there was, in addition to the genital tension, also an anal tension in the form of an urge to defecate or pass wind which had to be constantly controlled. The patient did not allow genital relaxation to take place. Not until the age of 17 did he succeed in having his first seminal emission; this with the aid of many hours of passive beating phantasies. After this, the stasis neurosis improved. But the first emission itself was experienced traumatically by the patient. He was so afraid of soiling his bed that during the emission he jumped up and grabbed the chamber pot; he was highly distressed because some semen had gotten in the bed.

When, during treatment, his genitality began to develop, the erection would disappear during the act. In this genital phase, masturbation began with normal masculine phantasies; but when the pleasure increased, the masochistic phantasy returned. The analysis of this shift from genitality to masochism *during* the sexual act revealed the following. As long as the pleasure sensations were mild, the genital phantasy persisted. But as soon as the pleasure increased and—as he put it—the "melting sensation" began to appear, he became afraid. Instead of letting himself go, he produced a spasm in the pelvic floor and thus changed the pleasure into unpleasure. He described very clearly how he perceived the "melting sensation"—nor-

mally a pleasurable orgasmic sensation—as unpleasure and with anxiety. He was afraid that the penis would "melt away." The skin of the penis might dissolve as a result of that sensation, he said: the penis might burst if it went on getting increasingly taut (as it normally does just before the acme). He felt as if the penis were a sac filled with fluid to the bursting point.

Here we had the incontrovertible proof that what characterizes masochism is *not* that unpleasure becomes pleasure. On the contrary. A mechanism which is specific for masochism causes every pleasure sensation, as soon as it exceeds a certain degree of intensity, to be inhibited and thus turned into unpleasure. It is worth mentioning that the patient's castration fear referred to the *skin* of the penis: "I get as hot as a boiled chicken, when you can pull off the skin."

As a result of the fear of punishment, the "melting" sensation of warmth which occurs with the increase of excitation before the acme is experienced as the advent of the anticipated penis catastrophe; thus it inhibits the normal course of the sexual excitation and produces, on purely physiological grounds, unpleasure which may increase to pain. This process takes place in three phases: 1. "I strive for pleasure"; 2. "I begin to 'melt'—this is the punishment I feared"; 3. "I must kill the sensation if I want to save my penis."

At this point, an objection may be raised. It may be pointed out that the inhibition of sexual pleasure by infantile anxiety is found in *every* neurosis, that this cannot be the specific factor in masochism. The question may be raised, Why does not every inhibition of the involuntary increase in pleasure sensations lead to masochism? To this, the following is to be said:

Such an inhibition of the perception of pleasure can come about in two ways. The "melting" pleasure sensation was once experienced without anxiety; later, anxiety

inhibited the course of the sexual excitation, but pleasure continued, nevertheless, to be perceived as pleasure. Pleasure and unpleasure are two distinct processes. This mechanism operates in every *non-masochistic* inhibition of the orgasm.

In masochism, on the other hand, the melting sensation of pre-orgastic pleasure is *itself* perceived as the anticipated threat. The anxiety which was acquired in connection with anal pleasure creates a psychic attitude which makes genital pleasure—which is much more intensive—appear as injury and punishment.

Thus the masochistic character keeps advancing toward the expected pleasure and finds himself meeting unpleasure. It actually looks as if he were striving for unpleasure. What has really happened is that anxiety always comes between, and thus the desired pleasure comes to be perceived as the anticipated danger. End-pleasure is replaced by *end-unpleasure*.

This solves the problem of a repetition compulsion *beyond* the pleasure principle. The masochist gives the impression of wanting to repeat an unpleasurable experience. In reality, *he strives for a pleasure situation, but frustration, anxiety and fear of punishment interfere and cause the original goal to be obliterated or made unpleasurable*. In other words, a repetition compulsion beyond the pleasure principle does not exist; the corresponding phenomena can be explained within the framework of the pleasure principle and the fear of punishment.

To go back to our case, this disturbance of the pleasure mechanism definitely explained the flattening and protraction of his masturbation. *He avoided any increase in pleasure perception*. At the time this became clear, he once said, "It is impossible to let these sensations take their course, it is absolutely intolerable." We understand now why he masturbated for hours on end: he never reached satisfaction because

he did not allow any involuntary increase in excitation to take place.

This inhibition has, in addition to fear of the increase, another reason. The masochistic character is used to the anal kind of pleasure which has a flat curve of excitation and has no acme; one might say it is a "lukewarm" kind of pleasure. The masochistic character transfers anal practice and the anal kind of pleasure experience to the genital apparatus which functions entirely differently. The intensive, sudden and steep increase of genital pleasure is not only unaccustomed but for one used only to the mild anal pleasure it is apt to be terrifying. If to this is added an anticipation of punishment, all conditions are given for an immediate conversion of pleasure into unpleasure.

In retrospect, this explained many earlier cases; particularly those who showed a suffering, masochistic mood after unsatisfactory (we would add now, after *specifically* disturbed) sexual activity. It explained, from the point of view of libido economy, the strong masochistic tendencies in the cases of orgastic disturbance described in my books, *DER TRIEBHAFTE CHARAKTER* and *DIE FUNKTION DES ORGASMUS*. Concerning a female patient with a masochistic perversion it is stated in the latter: "She masturbated . . . with the masochistic phantasy that she was shackled and completely undressed and put into a cage to starve. At this point the orgasm became inhibited because she suddenly had to think about a piece of apparatus which would automatically remove the feces and urine of the girl who was shackled and not allowed to move. . . . In the analysis, when the transference would take on the form of sexual excitation, she would develop an intense urge to urinate and defecate." If she masturbated with coitus phantasies "masochistic phantasies appeared shortly before orgasm was about to occur."

The masochistic attitude and phantasy,

then, stems from the unpleasurable perception of the pleasure sensation; it is an attempt to master the unpleasure through an attitude which is psychically formulated as, "I'm so miserable—love me!" The beating phantasy must come in because the demand for love also contains genital demands which force the patient to divert the punishment from the front to the rear: "Beat me—but don't castrate me!" In other words, the masochistic reaction has a specific stasis-neurotic foundation.

The center of the problems of masochism, then, lies in the specific disturbances of the pleasure function. It became clear that it is the fear of the "melting" preorgastic pleasure sensation which makes the patient adhere to a pleasure of the anal kind. Is this the result of anal fixation or of genital inhibition? It would seem that both factors are equally involved, just as both factors cause the chronic neurasthenic condition. Analogy mobilizes the whole libidinous apparatus, without, however, being capable of bringing about a relaxation of the tension. The inhibition of genitality is not only a result of anxiety, but produces anxiety in turn; this increases the discrepancy between tension and discharge. There remains the question why the beating phantasy typically sets in, or becomes intensified, just previous to the acme.

It is interesting to see how the psychic apparatus tries to diminish the discrepancy between tension and discharge, how the urge for relaxation breaks through, after all, in the beating phantasy. Our patient kept maintaining that "being beaten by the woman is exactly the same as secretly masturbating in her (= the mother's) presence." This, indeed, corresponded exactly to his actual experience: as a child and adolescent he did use to lie in bed with his mother while he masturbated in a masochistic fashion. That is, he would squeeze his penis, prevent ejaculation (because of his pregnancy phobia) and would

fantasy that his mother was beating him; only then would ejaculation occur. This had the following meaning which the patient remembered consciously: "My penis seems all boiled to me. With the fifth or sixth blow it is bound to burst, as will my bladder." In other words, *the beatings were to bring about the relaxation which he was prohibited from bringing about in any other way*. If his bladder and his penis burst as a result of the beatings by his mother and an ejaculation took place, it was not his fault, for his tormentor had brought it to pass. The wish for punishment, then, has the following meaning: to bring about the relaxation after all, by way of a detour, and to shift the responsibility to the punishing person. We see the same mechanism in this basic process as in the characterological superstructure. In the latter it is: "Love me, so I won't be afraid"; the complaining means: "*You* are to blame, not I." The beating phantasy means: "Beat me, so I can get relaxation without being responsible for it." This seems to be the deepest meaning of the passive beating phantasy.

Since the time when I first recognized this deepest function of the passive beating phantasy, I have found this mechanism in other patients who had not developed a manifest perversion but who had kept their masochistic tendency latent by way of character changes. To mention only a few examples: A compulsive character developed a masturbation phantasy that he was among primitives who forced him to have coitus and to behave without any inhibitions. A passive feminine character without a manifest perversion had the phantasy that he was made to have an ejaculation by blows on his penis; the condition was that he was shackled in order to be able to stand the blows and be unable to run away. Here we have to mention also the common masochistic sex attitude of neurotic women, an attitude which by many analysts is considered the normal

feminine attitude. This passive rape phantasy in the woman, however, serves no other purpose than that of alleviating her guilt feelings. These neurotic women can engage in intercourse without guilt feeling only if—actually or in phantasy—they are raped, thus shifting the responsibility to the man. The formal resistance of many women in the act has the same meaning.

This takes us to the problem of so-called "*Angstlust*" (pleasure in anxiety) which plays such a big role in masochism. Following is a relevant example from another analysis:

A patient remembered that at the age of about four he consciously used to produce night terrors. He would crawl under the covers, masturbate, develop anxiety and then rid himself of it by suddenly throwing the covers off. How tempting in this case is the assumption of a repetition compulsion: he had had a night terror and now wanted again and again to re-experience the anxiety. There are two things which contradict such an assumption. First, he did not want to re-experience the anxiety, but the pleasure, notwithstanding the fact that the experience of the pleasure always led to anxiety. Second, the liberation from the anxiety was a source of pleasure. The essential point in the process, however, was that the anxiety resulted in anal and urethral sensations for the sake of which he was willing to suffer the anxiety. Anxiety as such is not pleasurable; it only gives rise to a certain kind of pleasure. Very often, children experience sensations of relaxation only in anxiety, sensations which they otherwise suppress for fear of punishment. The relaxation connected with the sudden loss of feces or urine in a situation of anxiety is often the reason for wanting to re-experience anxiety. But to explain these facts on an assumption *beyond* the pleasure principle would be a complete misinterpretation. Anxiety or pain, under certain conditions, becomes the only possibility of

experiencing relaxation which otherwise is feared. The expressions of "*Schmerzlust*" or "*Angstlust*" thus can correctly mean only that pain or anxiety can become the occasion of sexual excitation.

The fact that in our patient the "bursting of the penis" seems to be the instinctual goal does in no way contradict our concept of masochism. This idea is on the one hand an idea representing anxiety or punishment; but on the other hand it also represents the desire of end-pleasure, of relaxation. It is due to this double meaning of the idea of bursting that end-pleasure itself comes to be perceived as the execution of dreaded punishment.

##### 5. ON THE THERAPY OF MASOCHISM

The establishment of a healthy sex life, of a sound sex-economy, requires two therapeutic processes: the liberation of the libido from its pregenital fixations, and the elimination of genital anxiety. That this takes place by an analysis of the pregenital and genital Oedipus complex is a matter of course. One technical point, however, needs special emphasis: the danger of dissolving the pregenital fixations without, *at the same time*, eliminating the genital anxiety. Since in this case the orgasmic discharge of energy remains inhibited, the danger is that of an increase in sexual stasis. This danger may be increased to the point of suicide, just at a time when the analysis of pregenitality has been successful. If, conversely, one eliminates the genital anxiety without eliminating the pregenital fixations, the genital energies remain weak, and the genital function cannot release the total amount of anxiety.

The main problem in the therapy of masochism is that of overcoming the patient's tendency to put the analyst in a bad light. The most important measure is to show the sadistic nature of this masochistic behavior. This reverses the original process of sadism being turned inward, toward the self; passive-masochistic-anal phantasies

turn into active-sadistic-phallic phantasies. When in this way infantile genitality is reactivated, it becomes possible to uncover the castration anxiety which previously was covered up by the masochistic reaction.

It goes without saying that these measures do as yet not influence the masochistic character of the patient in the least. His complaining, spiting, self-damaging tendencies and his awkwardness—which presents a rational reason for withdrawing from the world—usually persist until it has become possible to eliminate the above-described disturbance of the pleasure mechanism in masturbation. Once genital orgasm has been achieved the patient usually undergoes a rapid change. Nevertheless, there remains for some time the tendency to take flight back into masochism at the slightest disappointment, frustration or dissatisfaction. Even consistent and thorough work on both the genital anxiety and the pregenital fixation can guarantee success only if the damage to the genital apparatus is not too severe and if, in addition, the patient's environment is not such as to throw him back again and again into his old masochistic groove. Thus, the analysis of a young unmarried man will be much easier than that of a masochistic woman who is at the menopause or economically tied to an unfortunate family situation.

The thorough work on the masochistic character traits has to be continued up to the conclusion of the treatment; otherwise, one is apt to run into most difficult situations during the frequent relapses at the time when genital primacy is being established. One also should not forget that a definite dissolution of the masochistic character cannot take place until the patient has led an economic work and love life for a considerable period of time, that is, until long after the conclusion of the treatment.

One has to view with the greatest scepticism the success of the treatment of masochistic characters, especially those with a manifest perversion, as long as one has not understood every detail of the character reactions and therefore has not really broken through them. On the other hand, one has every reason to be optimistic once one has succeeded in this, that is, once genitality has been established, even though at first only in the form of genital anxiety. Then, one need no longer be perturbed by repeated relapses. We know that the treatment of masochism is one of the most difficult of our therapeutic problems. It is not possible unless one adheres to that psychoanalytical theory which has an empirical foundation. Such hypotheses as are criticized here are often only a sign of therapeutic failure.

For if one explains masochism by a death instinct, one confirms to the patient his alleged will to suffer; what corresponds to reality and alone guarantees therapeutic success is to unmask the will to suffer as a disguised aggression.

We have mentioned two specific tasks in the therapy of masochism: changing masochism back into sadism, and progression from pregenitality to genitality. The third specific task is the elimination of the anal and genital spastic attitude which, as described, is the acute source of the suffering.

It goes without saying that this presentation of the masochistic process is far from solving all problems of masochism. But once the problem of masochism is again seen in the framework in which it belongs, that of the pleasure-unpleasure-principle, the path to a solution of the remaining problems, which was blocked by the hypothesis of the death instinct, is again open.

## A SEX-ECONOMIST ANSWERS, PART 2 \*

By THEODORE P. WOLFE, M.D.

*Q. 14. Is it not true that if children are encouraged to indulge in sex play that they will actually have intercourse at the ages of 9, 10, etc.? Isn't this harmful?*

A. This question, to begin with, betrays misunderstanding and sexual anxiety. The misunderstanding is, that, according to sex-economic principles, children should be "encouraged to indulge in sex play." Children don't need any encouragement to do so. They engage in sex play anyway. What should *not* be done—and what is constantly being done—is punishing children or making them feel guilty about it. That is, infantile sexuality should not be interfered with. On the other hand, they also should not be "encouraged." The statement that children should be "encouraged to indulge" in sex play or masturbation, a statement which is constantly being imputed to sex-economy, has an irrational background, inasmuch as any mother, nurse or teacher who says so has not overcome her guilt about her own infantile sexual activities. She *knows*, intellectually, that the child should be free in his sexual activities, but her own—largely unconscious—guilt feelings make it impossible for her to assume a free, rational, that is, un-guilty and un-compulsive attitude toward them. She then tries to overcome her own guilt feelings by an overcompensation: the child should not only be *allowed* to masturbate, but even "encouraged" or "taught" to do so. Such encouragement or teaching would be not only senseless, but dangerous and harmful. A healthy child will masturbate with satisfaction. A sexually inhibited child, with a disturbed pleasure mechanism, will only be brought into still more conflict by such teaching or encouragement.

Finally, will they not "actually have intercourse at the ages of 9, 10, etc.? Isn't this harmful?" This question betrays the old fear of adolescent sexuality, which in turn leads to the fear of infantile sexuality. If we are interested in perpetuating the present sexual regime, in which the majority of people are orgasmically impotent, in which neuroses, perversions and sexual crimes are rampant, then it is only logical that children should not "indulge in sex play." For if infantile sexuality is suppressed, it will be relatively easy to suppress adolescent genitality and make the adolescent accept the patriarchal demand of abstinence until marriage, a marriage, furthermore, according to the demand of life-long monogamy.

If, on the other hand, children are "encouraged" or "taught" to indulge in sex play, it may very well be that they will try to have intercourse even at a pre-adolescent age. This corresponds to such phenomena in the adult as neurotic promiscuity, sexual brutality and other attempts to overcome a sexual inhibition.

If, finally, children are brought up according to the principle of self-regulation, without interference with their natural needs, they will, in adolescence, establish a normal genital sex life.

*Q. 15. Why is it that some children do not walk until two years of age, whereas other children commence to take steps at the age of 8 months?*

A. This will largely depend on the degree of freedom of motility which the children are allowed from the very first days of their lives. If babies are packed tightly in their cribs or carriages, or forced to lie in unnatural positions (*cf.* "Disas-

\* Cf. A Sex-economist answers. *This Journal* 2, 1943, 158 ff.

trous fads in infant upbringing," *This Journal* 1, 1942, 276 ff.), they will take much longer to develop the ability for locomotion than others who were free to develop their natural motility.

It is, however, not a matter merely of such mechanical restrictions. At least equally important is the development of the child's vegetative mobility, that is, the untrammelled development of the pleasure in his own body. This presupposes non-interference on the part of the parents with everything that has to do with the pleasure mechanism: full gratification of oral needs (nursing, sucking), the child's playing with his own body, the genitals included, and full satisfaction of the child's need for affection. It goes without saying that a child who has maintained and developed the pleasure in his own body will also develop the pleasure in using it for locomotion at an earlier date than a child who has lost this pleasure in his body and therefore feels less of an impulse to explore the pleasure possibilities furnished by locomotion.

*Q. 16. At what age should "sex" be explained to children?*

A. If you are not afraid of your own sexuality and the child's questions, the child will answer this question for you. That is, the child will ask questions whenever it is ready to ask them, and will go on asking them as long as you are ready to answer them honestly. There is no such thing as "sex" that could be "explained" at any given time. The very question, as it is put, portrays the attitude of the average individual who dreads the subject and wants to "get it over with." It is not a matter of "sex" as a subject, but a matter of all kinds of sensations, fears, doubts, activities, and questions of the most diverse type. One child may ask a certain question at the age of 3, another may ask the same question at the age of 5, one adolescent at the age of 11, another at the age of 14.

It must be remembered that children often put their sexual questions not directly, but in a symbolical or otherwise disguised form. Thus, a child will ask about the content of a hollow space (box, closet, etc.) when he really means to ask about pregnancy. The adult must be able to recognize the significance of such questions and to answer them accordingly. Most children soon give up asking these questions because they soon find out that the questions are being evaded or answered untruthfully. It is interesting to note, in this connection, that the British Government recently recommended giving up telling children the stork story. This is an official recognition of a fact which has been obvious to many for a long time: the result of such sexual "enlightenment" is only confusion on the part of the child, a deep distrust of the adults, and often, as the result of the repression of a strong sexual curiosity, a severe intellectual impairment.

*Q. 17. My little boy, age 5, is a continual source of embarrassment to me. Very often when I have guests he will stare at them and say, "I don't like you." If they try to pet him, he will hit them. How can this be overcome?*

A. Here we have to distinguish two entirely different situations. Either the child's dislike of your guests is normal. In that case all that is wrong in the situation is that it is embarrassing to you; but there is nothing wrong with the child. On the contrary, his behavior may merely indicate that he is free and uninhibited in the expression of his feelings. This makes him, of course, a "behavior problem" from the point of view of conventional behavior. A "well-behaved" child would not express himself like this; his behavior would be more like that of the conventional adult who is nice to people's faces and then, after their departure, tells the other guests what he "really thinks of them." With the acquisition of this "good behavior," the

child also loses its natural way of reacting toward people.

It must be remembered that children are extremely sensitive to the armoring and to false behavior in adults. Babies will refuse to be picked up by certain individuals, no matter how "nice" they seem to be. It will always be found that such people are strongly armored individuals who are incapable of an immediate contact with the child and who, instead, try to establish a pseudocontact along the "baby-talk," "da-da-da," "aren't-you-a-cute-cute-little-baby" line. Because such people have lost the natural contact with the child, they cannot take the child seriously and are apt to treat babies as toys. Children do not want to be "petted" in this fashion but want to be loved. If a child hits an adult who "tries to pet him" in this fashion, this may be a perfectly normal reaction, comparable to that of a dog who will snap at a mean person who tries to pet him while he will enjoy being petted by a loving person. On the other hand, children will react immediately in a positive way to a warm, radiating person who is not neurotically armored but capable of an immediate contact with the child. Later on, as a result of neurotic armoring, the child loses much of this immediate contact and of the ability to size up people. It is very interesting to compare different adults' reactions to a new person. An armored individual will say, for example, "What a nice person!" while a healthy individual will immediately feel that this "niceness" is not genuine but a front which covers up a great deal of meanness. In addition, he will see direct evidence of the meanness, such as a hard expression in the eyes, a clenched jaw, a rude remark couched in nice terms, etc. All these manifestations remain hidden to the armored individual because he has the same mechanisms of insincerity in himself; if he could see behind the other person's mask, he could no longer maintain his own. That is, the lack of sensitivity for

the other person's character is in direct proportion to the rigidity of one's own armor.

As we have said, your boy's dislike of your guests may be normal. Or we may be dealing with an entirely different situation: the child is neurotic, and his behavior toward your guests is not a rational reaction to their personalities but the expression of a neurotic hatred, perhaps with the intent to embarrass. In this case the child will need treatment.

*Q. 18. My little girl refuses to share her toys with the other children, yet tries to grab as many of the other children's toys as she can. She always wants to have more than she can possibly use. How can I make her stop this?*

A. There is no way of making her stop this except by giving her a basic satisfaction she is lacking and for which she tries to make up by this behavior. What that lack is could only be determined by a thorough study of the child and her environment.

*Q. 19. My little boy is 2 years old, and still refuses to move his bowels in the toilet. I certainly started to train him early enough. When he was 4 months old I started to put him on his pottie regularly. For a short time thereafter, he moved his bowels in the pottie. But suddenly he refused to do this and insists on moving his bowels in his pants. I cajoled him to no avail. Then I began to punish him. I thought that this was going to work because he kept his pants clean, but also he did nothing in the pottie. This led to constipation and the necessity of cathartics. Now I am at a loss as to what to do. What can you suggest?*

A. This unfortunate story is one of the common outcomes of premature bowel training. There can be no doubt that you did not start to train him "early enough," as you say, but *much too early*. After a

temporary compliance, he began to rebel against this compulsion and showed his rebellion in the form of anal spite, by defecating in his pants. Later he stopped this for fear of punishment, which led to a spasm of the anal musculature and constipation. That is, a refusal to defecate turned into the inability to do so.

The further outcome depends on how the boy will weather the vicissitudes of the next phase of development, the genital one. If his masturbation is not interfered with by the environment, he may be able to overcome his anal spasm, and his constipation will disappear. On the other hand, it must be remembered that an anal spasm is never an isolated phenomenon; that is, it always involves the whole pelvic floor and the genital also to a lesser or higher degree. This may make genital gratification impossible in which case the anal spasm, and with that, the constipation, is more than likely to persist. In this case, vegetotherapeutic treatment would be indicated.

*Q. 20. Children have sweet, pure and simple minds. If the sexes are mixed, and they are allowed to take their clothes off and play together, don't they begin to get "dirty" ideas?*

A. What do you mean by "dirty" ideas? If the children have "sweet, pure and simple minds," where will they get the "dirty ideas"? Certainly not from taking off their clothes and playing with each other. If they get such ideas, you can be sure that there were adults around to whom the naked body and sexuality is something "dirty." That, unfortunately, will be so as long as children are brought up antisexually so that they grow up into orgastically impotent individuals who will inevitably implant "dirty ideas" in their own children.

*Q. 21. Won't there be danger in attempting to apply didactically to children principles which Dr. Reich has formulated*

*through vegetotherapy with adults only? (Question from an individual who has been aware of the difficulties encountered by psychoanalytically oriented teachers in nursery school work.)*

A. This question seems to be based on the argument that what one finds in the vegetotherapeutic treatment of adults does not apply to children. This argument is erroneous. For vegetotherapy deals with basic biological functions which are the same in the adult and the child. Furthermore, one deals with vegetative and psychic reactions which were acquired in childhood and which, in the course of the treatment, are traced back to childhood. One often sees an adult react, psychically and somatically, in exactly the same manner in which he acted at that time in his childhood when he acquired a particular attitude or a particular spasm. This infantile behavior is not "deduced" or "guessed at" as in psychoanalysis, but one actually sees it before one's own eyes in an unmistakable manner, and the patient does not have the slightest doubt about the infantile nature of the experience. Thus, one constantly learns about infantile behavior and reactions from the vegetotherapeutic behavior of adults. In addition, the vegetotherapeutic experiences in adults are amply confirmed in nursery school observations of children.

Nevertheless, something like the danger suggested in the above query exists. Only, it is not the danger of applying principles which are not valid for children. The danger lies in the "didactic" application of sex-economic principles. If, for example, the average teacher, after having read *THE FUNCTION OF THE ORGASM* or a few articles in the *JOURNAL*, should begin to "apply" sex-economic principles to children, this would indeed be dangerous. For to work with children on sex-economic principles requires more than a theoretical knowledge. It requires the capacity on the part of the adult for self-regulation and pre-

supposes sexual health. Any genitally healthy teacher or parent will work on sex-economic principles even though he may never have heard of sex-economy. He will live these principles and need not "apply" them. Nobody who cannot live them should try to "apply" them. One does not walk "according to the principles of gravitation"; *one simply walks*. If one is paralyzed, one is not helped in walking by "the principles of gravitation."

*Q. 22. Is it possible that the orgone accumulator does one good by mental suggestion?*

A. If this question is meant seriously, why don't you try an experiment? Build yourself a cabinet, say, of wood, of the same size as an accumulator, sit in it, suggest to yourself that it will do exactly the same thing as the orgone accumulator, and see what happens.

*Q. 23. If you follow Dr. Reich's theories, what are you going to do with your child practically speaking when he is adolescent? Give him contraceptive information?*

A. Here we have again the fear of adolescent sexuality. It is as if people said: "Well, these theories of Reich are quite all right, as long as they don't have any practical consequences. But suppose we took them seriously? Suppose my adolescent boy wants to have sexual intercourse?"

Well, suppose he does? Adolescent boys have always wanted sexual intercourse and always will. They have reached sexual maturity. But now, all of a sudden, when adolescents want sexual intercourse, "Reich's theories" are being made responsible for it. This is like making Galileo responsible for the earth's moving around the sun, or making Newton responsible for gravitation. Reich's "theories" are not an ideology or a program but merely the formulation of clinical and sociological findings. Such a finding is the fact that the adolescent, as a result of sexual sup-

pression, develops the typical "puberty neurosis" and a sexual inhibition which may make it impossible for him later to establish a happy sexual relationship. Reich never said that adolescents "should" have sexual intercourse. He stated that the antithesis is not, as commonly stated, that between abstinence and sexual activity, but between a healthy sex life and an unhealthy sex life, and investigated the conditions and results of sexual health and unhealth. As a result of the prevailing sex-negative teachings of moralistically prejudiced people, you may believe that sexual abstinence is harmless. In that case, you will most likely tell your son that he should "wait until marriage." If, on the other hand, you are convinced of the correctness of sex-economic findings and of the harmfulness of sexual abstinence, you will help your son to establish a normal genital life. This presupposes, of course, that you are free from genital anxiety, have maintained a natural contact with your son, and that he is structurally ready for it. Then, why would you *not* give him contraceptive information?

*Q. 24. I consider myself pretty normal and happy but I don't masturbate nor have I ever had a desire to. What does Dr. Reich say about that? (Question from an unmarried nursery school teacher.)*

A. Your statement that you never had a desire to masturbate points to sexual repression. Every child masturbates or has the desire to masturbate; any normal individual has the desire to masturbate in the absence of genital gratification in the sexual act. Your statement, then, means that you repressed the memory of your infantile masturbation and are repressing your genital desires now.

Your question sounds like an argument: "See, Dr. Reich, I don't masturbate, never even had a desire to. I don't have sexual intercourse, and never had a desire to. *That shows* that sexual gratification is not

necessary in order to be healthy and happy." Well, you don't say that you are happy and satisfied; only that *you consider yourself* "pretty normal and happy." A great many people in our society solve their sexual conflicts by repression, become unaware of their sexual needs, cultivate substitute gratifications and consider themselves "pretty normal and happy." Behind such neurotic fronts of *apparent* happiness one often finds a deep unhappiness, depression and resignation which, in the treatment, first have to be uncovered before the way is open to genuine happiness.

Furthermore, this apparent "happiness" is deceptive in another way. You may be able to deceive yourself and your environment, but you cannot deceive your biological organism. You can assume a *psychic* attitude of happiness and may sincerely believe that you are happy in spite of your sexual abstinence. This belief can be sincere because you have repressed your biological needs and have made them unconscious. But though they are removed from consciousness, they are not removed from existence. It is not a matter of ideas, but of *energies*, energies of which the organism, if they are denied a normal outlet, has to take care in some abnormal way. The result will inevitably be some sort of physical symptom or disease, like colds, fatigue, rheumatism, back pains, or cancer. These, when they occur, you will consider "organic" diseases which have nothing to do with your sexual abstinence, because you do not see the connection between the two. And yet, this is the form in which your unhappiness, which exists regardless of your psychic front of happiness, expresses itself.

Of course, everybody is entitled to his own way of solving his sexual conflicts as far as he is concerned as an individual only. If, however, as a nursery school teacher, one has a good deal of responsibility for the children's future health, the story is different. Nursery school children

will quite naively display their sexual curiosity and will engage in sexual plays. The healthy teacher will take these things as normal manifestations of the child's vitality and will not treat them differently from any other manifestations. The sexually repressed teacher will be horrified and will try to ignore these sexual manifestations for they remind her of her own infantile sexual activities the memory of which she tries to suppress. In this way, she is excluded from contact with the child in one of the child's most important sectors of his life. The child will inevitably sense this fear in the adult and the lack of contact, and will more or less withdraw his confidence and affection. Or the teacher does take cognizance of the child's sexual manifestations, considers them "bad" and tries to prevent them, either by "diverting" the child to "harmless" activities or by punishing it. In either case a full emotional contact with the child is lost; in the latter case, the child loses its naturalness, becomes vegetatively rigid and develops the basis for a neurotic character.

In his book, *DIE SEXUALITÄT IM KULTURKAMPF*, Wilhelm Reich relates the following little episode from a Russian kindergarten which illustrates the blind spot of sexually repressed adults for the sexual manifestations of children: "Talking with the head teacher, I looked out of the window and watched the children playing in the garden. A little boy was taking out his penis and a little girl was watching it. This happened at the very moment when the head teacher was assuring me that in *her* kindergarten 'such things' as infantile masturbation and infantile sexuality did not happen."

*Q. 25. What does Paul Martin mean in "The Dangers of Freedom" by the term "official morality"? (Question asked by Prof. of Philosophy interested in Semantics.)*

*A.* By "official morality" is meant that

morality which postulates an antithesis between nature and culture, nature and morals, sexuality and work; which suppresses the sexuality of children and adolescents and thus leads to neuroses, perversions, promiscuity and sexual crimes, the very things which it purposes to do away with; which condones "marital duty" and condemns sexual happiness outside of legalized marriage; which penalizes abortion but prohibits contraception; which, finally, among many other things, by robbing people of their vegetative motility and, with that, of their native intelligence, produces people who no longer have any contact with real life and therefore retreat into the world of words. (Cf. General Semantics: The Mysticism of Words, *This Journal* 1, 1942, 186 ff.)

*Q. 26. Would it be possible for me to observe Dr. Reich's work with muscular tensions? (Question asked by a therapist in children's speech disorders who is aware of the muscle tensions and that they move around.)*

A. This is a misconception of vegetotherapy which we have already pointed out repeatedly. Our therapeutic technique does not consist in "work with muscular tensions" in the sense of a "relaxation therapy" or massage. It is *character-analytic* vegetotherapy. That is, the vegetative energies are released from their anchoring in the musculature not by work on the muscular tensions, in any mechanical way, but by the systematic analysis of the character attitudes which express themselves in—or, rather, are identical with—muscular attitudes which, in their totality, form the muscular armor.

*Q. 27. Our culture doesn't tolerate sex relations in adolescence. Aren't you going to make it very hard for your child if you bring him up this way (that is, without sexual repression)?*

A. There are two fundamentally oppo-

site principles of education: the one is that of *adjusting* the child to society as it is; this is the patriarchal, authoritarian way; it is based on sexual suppression which makes the child capable of submission to irrational demands and incapable of rational rebellion against intolerable external circumstances; it does not take into account primarily the happiness and the health of the child.

The other principle is that of *self-regulation*, where education is guided by the natural needs of the child and where the primary goal is the child's happiness and health. The objections to this principle are based on the fear that a child so brought up will be antisocial and that if such an education were general we would have sexual chaos.

Now, what is the fate of a child brought up under one or the other of these systems, when he reaches puberty? Do we, if we bring up the child according to the principle of self-regulation, "make it very hard for him"? In order to answer this question, we have to get away from generalities, first of all. Let us put the question this way: Is it harder for the adolescent than had he been brought up in an antisexual, authoritarian manner? What does puberty look like in the latter case? Certainly, it is far from easy. The repression of his infantile sexuality, the punishment of infantile masturbation, etc., have led to intense sexual anxiety and guilt feelings. However, the maturing of the sexual apparatus brings with it a new surge of sexual feelings. The inhibitions make both satisfying masturbation and the establishing of an adult genital relationship impossible. As a result, the adolescent is constantly tormented by his sexual excitation, by sexual phantasies which interfere with his work, and by feelings of inferiority resulting from his constant sexual preoccupation and his unsuccessful attempts either to obtain gratification from masturbation or to overcome what he considers this evil habit.

Now, is puberty "harder" for the adolescent who was not brought up antisexually? If it is harder, then why? Is it harder because—in contradistinction to the sexually suppressed individual—he is *fully aware of his sexual needs and of the difficulty of gratifying them*? Undoubtedly. But for that very reason is it also infinitely easier. That is, the healthy adolescent finds himself in a conflict with sex-negating society, a conflict which the suppressed adolescent escapes by himself negating his sexuality. But here is the important and constantly overlooked point: This conflict with society is a *rational* conflict. The healthy adolescent knows that he, in his demand for natural sexual gratification, is *right*, and that society, in denying it to him, is wrong. He does not, like the suppressed adolescent, escape this conflict; this is what makes adolescence indeed harder for him. But at the same time he escapes the *irrational*, neurotic conflicts of the sex-suppressed adolescent. It is a common misbelief that healthy people have no conflicts, that they are always happy, that nothing really hurts them, that they live in some sort of Utopia. Far from it. They do have conflicts; they are capable not only of happiness, but also of profound unhappiness; they are made to suffer by many things which rebound from the armor in which the neurotic individual is encased. But *rational* conflicts usually can be solved in a rational manner, while irrational conflicts, based, as they are, on unconscious factors, are usually impossible of solution without therapeutic help or exceptionally favorable circumstances.

Thus, if you bring up your child according to the principle of self-regulation, he will be exposed to certain conflicts with authoritarian society which the sex-suppressed individual escapes by adjusting to the demands of this society, albeit at the expense of his capacity for happiness. On the other hand, having retained his vegetative motility and a great deal of free

energy, he will also be better able to deal with these conflicts. Therefore, it cannot be said that because the adolescent, by being brought up in the sex-affirmative manner, is exposed to certain conflicts with society, he should, for this reason, not be so brought up.

*Q. 28. Isn't it dangerous to teach a child aggression by meeting his aggression with return aggression? How can we hope to have a peaceful world if we encourage children to take such liberties? Won't encouraged aggression produce anarchy?*

A. Who ever said one should "teach" children aggression? This misinterpretation belongs in the same category as that with regard to "teaching" or "encouraging" children to indulge in sex play (*cf.* Question 14, *supra*, p. 62). In addition, there is the typical confusion here between *aggression* and *destructiveness* (*cf.* Wilhelm Reich, *THE FUNCTION OF THE ORGASM*, p. 130 ff.). Aggression is *normal*; it means, literally, "approaching things and people"; it is the necessary prerequisite for the gratification of any vital need. Because it is so often erroneously equated with "badness" and "sexuality," this normal aggressiveness is usually suppressed in children with the result that they become unable to approach people, tasks and life in general with a healthy decisiveness and courage. Instead, they become submissive, scared, lame and undecided.

What you are referring to is not aggression but *destructiveness*. This, in contradistinction to aggression, is not a primary but a *secondary* drive, resulting from the frustration of normal needs, particularly the sexual ones. The methods of education prevalent in our society will inevitably create destructive impulses. The children are frustrated at every turn in the gratification of their natural needs and prohibited from expressing their natural feelings. The result is destructive impulses. While the principle of self-regulation applies to the

normal, primary drives, it does not apply to the secondary impulses. For if these secondary, pathological drives were allowed freedom, we would indeed have anarchy. In fact, the existing world chaos is due precisely to a breakthrough of poorly suppressed destructiveness. If a child is allowed to develop normally, if it is allowed to gratify its healthy drives, it will not develop secondary drives such as destructiveness. If, on the other hand, the healthy drives are suppressed by moral regulation, it will develop destructiveness. This has to be suppressed by moral regulation and authoritarian measures. We find ourselves in a vicious circle: moral regulation creates pathological drives, and these call again for moral regulation. The only way out of this vicious circle is, of course, the liberation and gratification of the healthy primary drives; because it does away with the secondary drives, it makes moral regulation unnecessary. Certainly, in an older child this liberation of the primary drives will not be possible without treatment because the suppression of the healthy drives has become part of the neu-

rotic character, of the character armor.

The question illustrates another thing: the fear of the adult of his own aggression and destructiveness. That is, "should one get angry with a child?" Yes, *if* the anger is rational. In that case, a healthy child will sense the justification of the anger and take it as the normal reaction on the part of the parent which it is. But the average adult, as a result of sexual stasis, has a good deal of destructiveness in him which he has to suppress and which, in spite of the control exercised, will often break through at the slightest provocation. In such a case, the child will feel that the outburst of anger on the part of the parent is out of all proportion to the provocation, which, of course, it is. This will make the child insecure as it never will know what little thing may lead to such an outburst. The adult, on his part, is equally insecure because he never knows which of his anger reactions are rational and permissible, and which are irrational and need to be suppressed. The constant presence of destructiveness creates the inability to express normal anger reactions.

## IRRATIONALISM IN THE FIGHT AGAINST SEX-ECONOMY

### III. ON A COMMON MOTIVE FOR DEFAMATION\*

By THEODORE P. WOLFE, M.D.

In November, 1943, the Editor was invited to appear before the *Board of Censors* of the Medical Society of the County of New York, of which he is a member, the matter under consideration being his "connection with the Institute for Sex-economy and Orgone-Research." At the meeting of the Board of Censors on December 9, 1943, it turned out that a physician had written to the Board saying that a patient had made the following statements to him, and that they should be investigated:

a) this Institute advocates promiscuous sex relations among married and unmarried people;

b) this Institute advocates the concept that children should be encouraged and taught to masturbate.

In reply to the Board's question whether these statements were correct, the Editor pointed out that the activities of our Institute, its concepts and what it stands for, are a matter of public record, the *International Journal of Sex-economy and Orgone-Research* now having been published for 2 years. He pointed out that, as far as infantile masturbation is concerned, our concept is that it should not be interfered with; and as far as promiscuity is concerned, that our Institute advocates the exact opposite: a *healthy* sexuality.

On December 15, 1943, the Editor wrote the following letter:

INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR SEX-ECONOMY  
AND ORGONE-RESEARCH

Dr. Wm. Crawford White, Secretary  
Board of Censors  
Medical Society of the County of New  
York  
2 East 103 Street  
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. White:

As requested by several members of your Board, I am sending you, under separate cover, the issues of the *International Journal of Sex-economy and Orgone-Research* published thus far. With regard to the questions brought up at the meeting I would like to call your attention to the article, *Sex-economic "Upbringing,"* vol. 1, p. 18ff., and to the statement, *Warning against the misinterpretation of "sexual health,"* vol. 2, p. 197.

As I told you at the meeting, our Institute is familiar with defamations and irrational accusations. They are made by professional people who have no objective arguments against our scientific findings and therefore resort to defamations, and by neurotic individuals who have their own irrational motives. In the present case, these motives are easy to understand. The informant of the physician who wrote to you is the husband of a woman who is undergoing vegetotherapy. She has authorized me to give you the background from which the statements in question arose. The marriage has been unhappy for

\* Third in a series of articles on Irrationalism in the Fight against Sex-economy. Cf. I. Biophysical functionalism and mechanistic natural science, by Wilhelm Reich. *This Journal* 1, 1942, 97 ff., and II. The Fascist newspaper campaign in Norway, by Gunnar Leistikow. *This Journal* 1, 1942, 266 ff.

years. The question of separation or divorce had come up repeatedly, but because of her neurosis, the woman was unable to do anything about it. Her husband, along with protestations of his love, treats her badly. Up to now, he was able to get away with this because of masochistic tendencies in his wife. Now, that she is getting healthier, the husband is afraid that she may become unable longer to put up with an intolerable situation and may seek a separation from him. This man, although a talented and well-trained professional man, has not supported his wife and children but has essentially lived on her money. If a separation should occur, he would have to work and make his own living.

This, then, is essentially the motive for his distortion of our views which led to the action of your Board.

I trust that the perusal of the JOURNAL will answer any further questions you may have. If not, I shall be glad to answer them in writing.

Very sincerely yours,  
Theodore P. Wolfe, M.D., Secretary

The following passages from the *Warning against the misinterpretation of "sexual health"* bear repeating here:

It happens again and again that biopathic individuals who lack the feeling for the difference between *natural love* and *sexual activity motivated by secondary drives*—a distinction which we have emphatically set forth—confuse "sexual health" with sexual libertinism. It has to be said again and again that sex-economy has nothing to do with the propagation of a way of living which consists in the libertine enjoyment of socially irresponsible pleasures . . .

Our Institute advocates the gratification of a *healthy* sexuality and not of a sick sexuality which is characterized by lack of seriousness, by lasciviousness and by the lack of the readiness to take full responsibility for one's happiness in love . . .

The organized emotional pest only waits for the chance of showing that we only talk of natural happiness in love but that we actually, as the bearers of the emotional

pest would like to have it, "propagate immorality."

On December 18, 1943, the Editor wrote the following letter to the informant of the physician who had written to the Board:

I have had to appear before the Board of Censors of the Medical Society of the County of New York as the result of a letter written to the Board by a physician to whom you made certain statements. These statements, among others, were to the effect that

a) our Institute advocates promiscuous sex relations among married and unmarried people;

b) our Institute advocates the concept that children should be encouraged and taught to masturbate.

You will realize that such statements are libellous. I am writing to ask you whether you maintain these statements to be true and are willing to defend them, or whether you wish to retract them as untrue.

I would appreciate your answer by return mail.

Very sincerely yours,  
Theodore P. Wolfe, M.D., Secretary

This letter has remained unanswered. That is, this informant, like all rumor-mongers, is a coward. He has neither the courage to stand up for his statements, nor the decency to admit that he is in error. On the other hand, he has continued to go around to various people agitating against our Institute. As he put it to an acquaintance of his: "I'm out for Dr. Reich and Dr. Wolfe, because they have broken up my home."

This brings us to an issue which has to be made clear once and for all: *We*—that is, the Institute and the therapists associated with it—*are not responsible for the personal everyday actions of patients, of the readers of our publications, or of anybody else.* If, for example, a patient, in the course of the treatment or afterwards, decides to obtain a divorce or to enter a new

relationship, he or she does so at his or her own responsibility. We are not an ideological group which would try to impose its ideas on other people; we do not meddle in other people's lives. Our only task is that of helping the patient to get well. If, in the process of getting well, the patient comes to the conclusion that an existing marital situation is intolerable, he may, as far as we are concerned, decide to continue it or to discontinue it. The only time we interfere is when such a decision seems to be based on irrational motives; in that case we point out these motives and have the patient consider them. A patient may, for example, want to get a divorce at the time he realizes that his marriage contains an incestuous element, that his attitude toward his wife is to some degree determined by his—previously unconscious—infantile attitude toward his mother. Such a divorce, at this time, would be irrationally motivated. It would represent what Freud, I believe, called "the flight into actuality" and would prevent a solution of the infantile conflict. It would mean to "pour out the baby with the bath." First the patient will have to solve the infantile conflict. Then, after this is eliminated from his marital situation, he will see it without the infantile admixture, for what it really is. Then, he will find either that the marriage was based to such an extent on an infantile mother fixation that, after its elimination, there is not enough left to carry on; or, he may find that only now has an adult relationship become possible. At any rate, we tell a patient neither to get a divorce nor not to get it. We only try to make the patient solve his irrational conflicts which interfere with the rational solution of his problem. The decision, however, remains his own. People get divorces anyway. But if they do it after having worked through their irrational attitudes and have lost their neurotic hatred, they will do it more decently and without the disastrous consequences of neurotic hatred.

All this is really so self-evident that it should not even be necessary to mention it. What makes it necessary is the irrational reactions of people who are incapable of regulating their own lives, and who, out of a feeling of their inadequacy and their incapacity to take the responsibility for their own lives, shift the responsibility to us and make irrational accusations. A few years ago, one of our co-workers, Paul Martin, happened to spend some time in Oslo. At the same time some unmarried girl there became pregnant. Her mother ran to the police and demanded that Martin be expelled from the country because, as she said, "had he not been in the country, the girl would not have become pregnant." Martin did not know anything about the girl, and she probably had never heard of him. This may be an extreme example, but the others are no less irrational. Children have always masturbated. But now, sex-economy is being made responsible for it: It happened, also in Norway, that attempts were made to have Wilhelm Reich indicted in court for "seduction of children" because he affirmed infantile sexuality. Adolescents have always wanted to have sexual intercourse. But now "Reich's theories" are being made responsible for it. Homes are broken up and divorces are obtained every day of the week. But now our Institute is being made responsible for it. The home of our rumor-monger who "is after Dr. Reich and Dr. Wolfe because they broke up his home" had been broken up for years. This was, in fact, the principal reason on the part of his wife for seeking therapeutic help. But he is incapable of or unwilling to take the responsibility for his marriage and to do something about it. So he shifts the responsibility to us and spreads slanderous statements about us. It is to be hoped that our readers, when they come across similar incidents, will recognize this mechanism of the emotional pest.

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## NOTES

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### RATIONAL AND IRRATIONAL DISCUSSION OF ORGONE BIOPHYSICS

One often hears it said that the field of natural science is free of irrationalism, that neurotic, irrational thinking is found only in mentally disturbed people. This, of course, is erroneous. The basis of irrational thinking is the biopathic character structure. Since the overwhelming majority of people have such a character structure, it goes without saying that the field of natural science is not exempt from irrational thinking. One cannot distinguish between natural science on the one hand and biopathic thinking disturbances on the other. One can only distinguish good natural science and poor natural science. The good scientist is that researcher or professional specialist who is aware of the irrationalism in his thinking and in his work, who knows and masters it. The poor scientist is the one who denies the general existence of irrationalism and limits it to psychiatric patients. As a matter of fact, one meets irrational thinking no less frequently in scientific circles than in the so-called lay circles. This is so for the following reasons: Every scientist has his "personal equation." He feels every statement which limits or corrects his specialty to be a threat to his person or profession. For this reason, his "criticism" is often irrational; its motivation has nothing to do with the objective facts. Often, the specialty serves the purpose of personal self-assertion. Inferiority feelings, sexual disturbances, professional inadequacy are drowned out by a dignified attitude of knowing everything or of knowing everything better, or by rigid, sterile, academic "scepticism." In many cases it is simply the fear of uttering an independent opinion which makes the scientist behave in an unscientific manner. In other cases the fear of so-called public opinion interferes with the formation of scientific judgments. The following two groups of queries make clear the differ-

ence between rational and irrational discussion.

#### A. RATIONAL DISCUSSION

*Q. If cancer is due to stasis and stifled cells caused by lack of sexual gratification, how can a little boy of 5 develop cancer?*

A. In formulating this question, the fact is overlooked that "sexuality" is not restricted to the adult, but is a quality of every living organism and every one of its cells. Therefore, a boy of 5 can suffer from sexual stasis; in fact, most children at this age do. Children between the ages of 3 and 5 go through a period of intense sexual excitation. If their pleasure mechanism, in particular, their masturbation, is disturbed, they develop a chronic biophysical contraction, and with that, the biopathic basis of cancer is established. But there is another possibility for a child to develop cancer. If the mother, during the pregnancy, had T-bacilli in her blood, she may have transmitted them to the child, thus predisposing it for cancer. This process is not "hereditary" in the strict sense of the word, but a true infection; an infection not with cancer cells—which are not infectious—but with the T-bacilli which may give rise to cancer.

*Q. If a cancerous cell disintegrates into T-bacilli and strongly blue PA bions, why doesn't the strong radiation destroy the T-bacilli?*

A. The blue bions do in fact kill the T-bacilli. But in this process the bions lose their orgone charge and disintegrate *themselves* into T-bacilli; for this reason, the number of T-bacilli, instead of decreasing, *increases*. In the fight against the T-bacilli, the organism uses up large amounts of its orgone energy; this expresses itself in the process of cachexia. In orgone therapy, we provide orgone from the *outside*, so that

the organism does not have to deplete its own energy reserves. This is the principle of orgone therapy in cancer.

*Q. If the more strongly charged cells absorb the energy of the weaker ones, why do the strong healthy cells lose their vigor in the fight against cancer? Or are the disintegrating cell nuclei so strongly overcharged that they draw on the energy of the healthy ones?*

A. This is a highly pertinent question to which there is as yet no definite answer. It is true that the strongly charged cells or bions kill the T-bacilli according to the basic law that the stronger orgonotic system withdraws energy from the weaker system. But it is also true that in this process the cell or bion *itself* disintegrates. This is an observable fact. Why this is so cannot definitely be stated at present.

*Q. What biological explanation is there for the well-known experience that one is definitely attracted physically only by one person out of, say, 100, out of which 80 will leave one completely indifferent and the rest are even repulsive?*

A. The biological explanation of this phenomenon is the fact that more than 80 out of 100 people are orgasmically impotent. Genuine physical attraction takes place only among this minority. If, instead, the majority of people were sexually healthy, sexual attraction would be correspondingly common, and it would be that much easier for people to find satisfactory sexual partners. Many people fear that in that case there would be increased promiscuity. The exact opposite would be true. The generally prevalent *neurotic* promiscuity would then disappear, because its basis, the frantic search for a suitable partner on the part of a frustrated organism, would be eliminated, and there would be a basis for healthy, more lasting relationships. It is necessary to point this out again and again because the moralists continue to argue

that sexual chaos would ensue if people were sexually healthy.

*Q. As to the inhibitions of the respiratory organs: I was thinking about it long before I heard about vegetotherapy. I knew people developing this kind of inhibition only after having started to share their beds with a loved person. The one case was a young man whose unsuspecting parents slept in the next room and no noise was to make them suspect, the other was a young wife who lived with her husband in a boarding house where connecting doors were covered with the wardrobes only. The third case was a very lively young woman whose (phallic-narcissistic?) husband would mock her about her cries in orgasmic moments. In the end they separated and within a year her respiratory inhibitions ceased nearly completely. Can the causes indicated here be the right ones?*

A. The causes you mention are important in that they aggravate and anchor orgasmic impotence; but they are not the *primary* causes. The primary causes lie in the sex-negative upbringing of children which causes pleasure anxiety and a general contraction of the biological system, and, with that, incapacity for sexual gratification. Healthy people who managed to escape the effects of these primary factors are better able to arrange their lives in such a manner that the *secondary, social* factors you mention do not play any decisive role. On the other hand, it is a fact that most people live under very poor sex-hygienic conditions which they are unable to alter either for reasons of their neurosis or for purely socio-economic reasons. It goes without saying that sexual gratification is impossible under conditions where one has to listen for fear of being disturbed or has to watch oneself for fear of being heard.

*Q. A man of over 40 with hypotrophia adiposogenitalis whose cells ought to be undercharged, who ought to be easily at-*

tacked by diseases, mental and physical, was in fact never ill in his life (apart from some atheroma of the scalp). He is in fact a man of wide interests, high intelligence and rather happy in a contemplative way. He is a much appreciated creative artist who finds great delight in his work. How does all this conform with the findings of the Institute?

A. This question cannot be answered conclusively because we have had no vegetotherapeutic experience with hypotrophia adiposogenitalis. But it can be assumed that it is just the undercharge, that is, the absence of overcharge or sexual stasis, which makes such an individual "contemplative" and "rather happy." We have every reason to doubt that this is a genuine happiness as it results from a deep satisfaction of the biological system. Character-analytic experience shows that there is a kind of superficial happiness which covers up a deep depression and resignation. Besides, it should not be assumed that every undercharged organism of necessity develops a shrinking biopathy.

#### B. IRRATIONAL DISCUSSION

*Argument: If the orgone radiation is present everywhere, it cannot come directly from the sun and is not restricted to organic matter. It would have to be shown that where it does not exist, life is not possible.*

Answer: From the statement that the orgone energy is present everywhere it follows logically that it also can come from the sun. The "critic" apparently has not conscientiously studied the article on the discovery of the orgone. For there it was said that cellulose and other organic substances, when subjected to direct sun radiation, absorb an energy which causes—without friction—a deflection of the electroscope. The statement that the orgone energy is "not restricted to organic matter" sounds like a criticism of a contention which was never made, namely, that the

orgone energy appears only in connection with organic life. If the "critic" had really studied the article, he would have found that it was described as a specific biological energy which governs living matter and "would have to exist in non-living nature, independently of the living organism." (Cf. *This Journal* 1, 1942, 114, point 2, 3, and 10). More than that, the functioning of the orgone in the realm of the living as well as the non-living is postulated there; it has already been demonstrated in the realm of the non-living.

*Argument: Must the living organism receive the radiation as nourishment, and does the presence of radiation effects in the proximity of strongly vital cells simply mean an excess in radiation, or is the radiation produced by the living organism? If so, out of what? From other kinds of radiation or from caloric energy?*

Answer: If the orgone energy is described as the "specific biological energy"; if it is pointed out repeatedly that "something" has to be added to the non-living protein in order to make it pulsate; if pulsation is the basic manifestation of living matter, the question answers itself: Orgone is not a "nourishment" which has to be taken up by the organism like protein; it is the principle of living functioning itself. Our "critic" fails to combine the various manifestations into a whole. Once the first error in thinking is made, namely, that there is a living organism here and an orgone energy, which is taken up as "nourishment," there, any number of erroneous conclusions follow automatically: then, the radiation (though it is the specific biological energy) can be "produced" by living systems which exist by themselves, i.e., without orgone. Then, orgone can derive from other kinds of radiation or from caloric energy, and we are caught in mechanistic thinking according to which a living organism can, by itself and *ab ovo*, exist without a specific bio-energy, and

according to which it eats "in order to produce" orgone energy. This is metaphysical thinking. According to this thinking, the orgone energy appears as a thing separate from life, and a superfluous luxury, as it were, for a living organism is assumed which is a living organism even in the absence of orgone. In this way, things become hopelessly complicated. For now we have discovered a "specific biological energy" which first has to be produced by a living organism which is governed by another principle. This deprives it of its essential character, that of being the life energy. Thus, the problem of the life energy remains unsolved. That is, our "critic" fails to comprehend the simplification of the whole biological problem which results from the discovery of the orgone; he fails to use it for a re-orientation in the hitherto not understood caloric and other functions of the organism. He attempts to derive the orgone energy from the secondary life manifestations, instead of reducing the mechanical and chemical phenomena to a functioning life energy. Thus he comes to speak of a specific biological energy which has nothing to do with living functioning.

*Argument: The simplest assumption would be that the living cell differs from non-living matter in that it produces a specific radiation. One need not assume that the sun has anything to do with it.*

Answer: There is no reason why this assumption should exclude the role of the sun. (In addition, the solar origin of the orgone has been *demonstrated*.) That the living function has something to do with the sun energy has been evident in all branches of natural science for a long time; only, it was not known what the connection was. The discovery of the orgone provides the answer: The orgone functions in the organism, but also in its non-living environment, and it also comes from the sun. To exclude the sun does not simplify

but complicate the problem which was solved by the discovery of the orgone. For in this case the living organism must again be invested with an *unknown* energy. Thus, one cannot say that it would be "the simplest assumption" to exclude the sun; more than that, doing so would be like building and furnishing a house after having lived in the jungle, and destroying it as soon as it is finished.

*Argument: It could be that the living cell emits a specific radiation, but that it derives the energy for this radiation somehow from the sun (secondary excitation, fluorescence).*

Answer: This formulation is correct except for the word "fluorescence" which has nothing to do in this context. What is wrong is not the formulation, but its proclamation in the form of a correction or amplification of the article under discussion. For the article states precisely that which the discussant seems to introduce as a new thought: namely, that the organism radiates an energy which it derives from the sun (in the narrower sense of direct sun radiation and the wider sense of the derivation of all matter and energy from the sun). One cannot proclaim a statement under discussion as *one's own* contribution.

*Argument: As to the flickering in the sky. The night sky shows a certain degree of light even between stars. This can be explained purely astrophysically (diffuse light). The flickering is light and change of brightness; the light is explained astrophysically and the change of brightness terrestrially.*

Answer: In the article, the flickering in the sky was explained by the newly discovered orgone; the interpretation by "diffuse light" was explicitly refuted as incorrect. Now, if somebody provides a new interpretation (orgone) for a known phenomenon, the critic must prove a) that the old interpretation was adequate, and

b) the flickering has nothing to do with the orgone.

The old interpretation of the flickering must adduce contentions from various fields, that is, it is *complicated*. The concept of "diffuse light" itself demands an explanation. What is "diffuse light"? Similarly, the terrestrial "change of brightness" would have to be explained itself before it could possibly explain the flickering. The atmospheric orgone, which is visible and measurable, makes these complicated assumptions unnecessary. Our critic prefers to adhere to the complicated and unsatisfactory and overlooks the advantages of the new discovery which makes all the previous complicated assumptions unnecessary. He thinks of "terrestrial magnetism" and forgets that nobody has as yet found out where this "magnetism" comes from, what it is and how it comes about. Incidentally, the "flickering of the stars" can also be seen on a planetarium sky, as a result of the movement of the orgone, as well as in the orgone accumulator.

*Argument: One experimenter tried for a full 45 minutes to see the flickering in the dark, but with negative result.*

Answer: It is quite impossible to judge a discovery such as the orgone by sitting in the dark *once* for 45 minutes. The discoverer spent several hours daily in the dark for 2 years before he was sure of his findings. In order to make it easier for others, he constructed an orgone box which makes the seeing of the orgone quite simple.

*Argument 1: How can a radiation be demonstrated objectively?*

*Photographic plate: existence*

*Spectroscope: wave length*

*Photometer: energy*

*Polarisator: polarization, coherence.*

*Argument 2: If it is a matter of corpuscles:*

*Mass spectrograph: mass and velocity*  
*Electromagnetic field: charge.*

*Argument 3: With regard to points 1 and 2, the various tests for penetration would have to be carried out (glass, quartz, aluminum foil, monomolecular metal foils).*

*Argument 4: Experiments in vacuum should be carried out in order to exclude absorption.*

Answer to points 1 to 4: This critic shows a methodological ignorance which seems incredible in a scientific specialist. Such argumentation is similar to the following:

A psychoanalyst tells an experimental psychologist that the child has a sexuality. The psychologist objects as follows: "You cannot make such a contention. First you have to make Wundt's test XYZ." Or: A mountain climber attempts to climb Mt. Everest (a task which lends itself well to the comparison with orgone research). He has to find an altogether new path. Another mountain climber hears about it and says: "But that's nonsense. Why doesn't he use the railway to the Jungfrau?"

This critic either has not read the article or has not understood it at all. It was stated explicitly that usual routine methods were not applicable and that they had failed; that it was a matter of a *fundamentally new form of energy*; that methods for its investigation had to be worked out; that some positive photographic demonstrations had been achieved; that further experimental results were forthcoming; that the newly discovered energy is present *everywhere* and therefore cannot be delimited; that, consequently, it cannot simply be investigated with apparatus which are adapted only to delimited manifestations such as radium rays. This specialist did not take the trouble to use the arrangement described in the article in order to learn to see and observe the energy before forming opinions.

*Argument: With regard to the motion*

*of luminous vapors: If it is a matter of rays, these would always move at a tremendous speed; only the emitters can move slowly like vapor.*

Answer: The contention that, if it is a matter of rays, *slow* movement is impossible, shows a prejudiced attitude. First, the fact that known kinds of rays move rapidly does not permit the conclusion that the existence of a slowly moving energy is out of the question. Second, in the monograph, *EXPERIMENTELLE ERGEBNISSE ÜBER DIE ELEKTRISCHE FUNKTION VON SEXUALITÄT UND ANGST*, the slow movement of the biological energy was demonstrated photographically (some of these photographs were reproduced and described in *THE FUNCTION OF THE ORGASM*, 1942). Third, the problem of the slowness of biophysical movement (e.g., of the intestines), as contrasted with electromagnetism, was specifically mentioned (*FUNCTION OF THE OR-*

*GASM*, p. 339 f.). Fourth, it seems in itself unlikely that an energy moving at the speed of light would govern the living processes, since the slow, wave-like organic movement must of necessity be thought of as an expression of the biological energy. Fifth, the investigation of the movement of the orgone energy is still in process. An objection to the effect that it might be better not to speak of "radiation" in the case of the orgone would have been more reasonable.

*Argument: The electroscopie experiments are not done exhaustively enough; there are any number of possible variations of the experiment.*

Answer: This criticism is premature. It was said explicitly that the experiments are being continued, and that the publication of the findings is going to be continued.

#### "NUTTIER THAN A FRUIT CAKE"

The following review of Wilhelm Reich: *THE FUNCTION OF THE ORGASM* was written by Martin Grotjahn and published in *Psychosomatic Medicine* 5, 1943, 309 f.:

Anyone who limits his reading to the study of scientific books is warned against Wilhelm Reich's new book "The Function of the Orgasm." Other people, however, who read not with deadly seriousness, but with an adventurous spirit might try to read it. They should know from the beginning that the book is most certainly nuttier than a fruit cake. It is intended as a scientific contribution to psychosomatic medicine. Actually it is a surrealistic creation. It is published by the "Orgone Institute Press" which is the publishing house of the "International Institute for Sex Economy and Orgone Research." It is not the translation of the German book which W. Reich published in 1927 under the same title and which became a landmark in psychoanalysis as a therapeutic

and scientific technique, deeply influencing almost the entire generation of younger psychoanalysts. Now W. Reich is beyond reason and has peculiar dreams about "bions" which are primitive living organisms created in a test tube. The radiating energy inhabiting the bions is called "orgone." Their energy is derived from sand, but was later found to be present in the soil, the atmosphere, the sun radiation, and in the living organism. The orgones look blue according to the author who claims to have seen them. Pleasure and anxiety are the basic excitations or emotions of the living substance. The bio-electric functioning of emotions makes them part of the general electric process of nature. On the basis of this general frame-work the medicine of the future is conceived. There is no doubt that some of the details on these 368 pages arouse the same fascinating interest with which an analyst listens to the strange associations of a patient.

## A SEX-ECONOMIC PREDICTION COME TRUE

In *DIE SEXUALITÄT IM KULTURKAMPF*, 2nd ed., 1936, Wilhelm Reich wrote the following:

If one is to avoid "sexual chaos" and the necessity of establishing punitive measures against homosexuality in the army and navy, one will have to tackle one of the most difficult problems of social sex-economy: *the inclusion of female youth in the life of the army and navy*. As inconceivable as this may sound to the military specialists today: there is no other way to prevent the undermining of sexuality by army and navy life. Obviously, there is no simple solution to this problem, but the principle is clear.

This postulate of the inclusion of female youth in the life of the army and navy was derived from the study of social sex-economic conditions and developments. It seemed, at the time of writing, a most difficult problem the recognition and practical solution of which could be envisioned only in the distant future. Yet, only a few years later, in the second world war, it became a reality in the democratic countries: the sex-economic necessity of the inclusion of the women in the armed forces proved itself.

One might argue that this inclusion of the women has nothing to do with sex-

economic processes; that, rather, it resulted merely from the military necessity of freeing males for active service. No doubt, this is also a reason for it. But this reason was equally valid in the first world war; yet, the inclusion of woman in the armed services did not take place then. Since the first world war, however, such far-reaching changes in a positive direction have taken place in the sex life of youth that the social sex resistance was simply overrun. From the standpoint of mental hygiene the inclusion of female youth in the armed forces is to be welcomed because it will reduce the disastrous effects of military life on the sexual apparatus and on emotional life in the sense of brutalization.

True, the *sex-economic* basis for female military service was never openly admitted or even advocated by the responsible authorities. But the bearers of the emotional pest had an inkling of it and—as is their wont—attacked it with defamation, both in England and in America. The reaction of the people on the whole was rational. The slanderous attacks of the asceticists and moralists were thrown back. One could only wish that the sex-economic motivation of this progressive social measure were openly admitted and advocated.

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## REVIEWS

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NATHAN, PETER: *The Psychology of Fascism*. London: Faber & Faber, 1943.

The application of psychology to sociology, if successful, rests on the following prerequisites:

1. Can it explain the functioning of the human psychic apparatus (clinical psychology, sex-economy)?

2. Does it lead to practical social measures (mass psychology)?

3. Does it take as its starting point the plasticity of human drives which, taken by themselves, cannot determine human behavior any more than they can *voluntarily* be modified and developed? (Functionalism; refutation of the erroneous concept of an antithesis of nature and culture.) As Malinowski stated: "Culture refuses to run riot."

These three prerequisites lead to

4. The elimination of an erroneous psychologism (social facts are not projections of the psyche). "The application of psychology is nothing but a recognition of the various intermediary links between the economic process and the behavior of the people who live in it." (Wilhelm Reich.)

The author has not asked himself the above questions. This makes his *PSYCHOLOGY OF FASCISM* a futile production, particularly if we remember that it was published in 1943. To him, fascism is a product of the "German psyche," a projection of an over-severe conscience, the overcompensation of a national inferiority feeling. Quite apart from the loose thinking expressed in such formulations, one must ask: What gives rise to the traits we find in fascist society, such as longing for authority, aggressivity, sexual abnormalities, individual negation of life? The answer to this question presupposes a concrete description of the fascist social institutions, of life as it is lived under fascism; it presupposes, further, an examination, in terms of natural science, of their

constant influence on the psyche. It is a tautology, pure and simple, to say that fascism "corresponds" to the fascist psychic structure. First of all, sociology must explain the law according to which fascism arose (general suppression and exploitation). But suppression and exploitation are nothing new. What hopes did the masses expect to see fulfilled in fascism? Why was fascism better able to win over the masses than socialism? These are only a few of the basic questions which the author leaves out of consideration altogether. His psychology is a hodge-podge of Freud, Jung, Adler and Stekel. Accordingly, man is viewed as born with aggression, with a need for some deity or other, with mystical feelings which human culture thus far was unable to master and which now appear in the form of fascism. *"There is, then, in our age a mass of mystical emotion which is continually trying to express itself against the wishes of the intellect . . . but now religion has lost its attraction; and so these feelings are forced to express themselves through other channels."* As we see, the author proceeds on the assumption of "ready-made psychological facts." Thus it is small wonder that he keeps throwing around such concepts as sublimation, regression and projection, concepts without which he seems incapable of handling man's "evil nature." Here is the author's own solemn testimony to this incapacity: *"One can say that the price we pay for living in communities is war. Civilization is made possible by a suppression of many of our impulses and desires. This is only achieved, as it seems, by permitting them periodically in a group form. The question whether man will ever be able to remain civilized without permitting these outbursts it is impossible to answer; we can only say that so far he has not achieved it. It is in man's nature to be aggressive, wild, destructive, competitive,*

*eager to dominate. These are as much a part of him as his speech, his beating heart, his skilful hands."*

This is pseudopsychology plus pseudo-sociology. Fascism can use exactly the same argument for its subjugation of the masses; in fact, it does use them. Since, however, the author professes to be an enemy of fascism, he has to find his own way of doing away with it. Thus, in the final chapter, he recommends to the nations who in the meantime have become "socialist" to let bygones be bygones, after an appropriate period of time has elapsed. This would be all the easier, the author thinks, in that Hitler has educated the Germans "along socialist lines." It is to be feared that before long the author will present us with a "Psychology of Socialism," in the form of a slightly revised second edition of the present book. Such a socialism, then, would be another one of these periodical outbreaks of the mass psyche.

From this kind of PSYCHOLOGY OF FASCISM we can gain only the one thing: more experience in the scientific refutation of all the psychological and sociological misformulations, a task for which nothing equips us better than Wilhelm Reich's *DIE MASSENPSYCHOLOGIE DES FASCHISMUS*, written *ten years before* the present book.

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LEWIS J. DOSHAY, M.D., Ph.D.: *The Boy Sex Offender and His Later Career*. New York: Grune & Stratton, 1943. Pp. 206.

In these times, when "juvenile delinquency" shows a marked increase and becomes a major concern, a study of the boy sex offender is doubly welcome. The author, a psychiatrist attached to the Children's Courts, New York City, in this study "seeks to establish the significance of early sex offenses among males in relation to later life behavior." For the purpose of his study, the author divides his case material into two groups: the "primary"

group of "true sex offenders," i.e., individuals "having no known involvement in any offensive behavior other than sexual" (108 cases), and the "mixed group," representing boys of the "general-delinquent type" (148 cases).

Most of the book is taken up by statistics concerning "family and home factors," "factors in the personalities of the parents," "age distribution and puberty," "race," "nationality," etc. In working through these statistics—a real endurance test—one asks oneself what relevant conclusions could possibly be drawn from these. One also begins to ask oneself, Where is the boy sex offender? Nowhere in the book, not even in the case histories, does one get an impression of the personality of the boy sex offender, of his conflicts and subjective experiences, of his suffering; all this is smothered by "data" about him. One is also struck by the choice of criteria. For example, in Table 10, p. 64, the following items appear under "Behavior Abnormalities": Enuresis, Nightmares, Fear of dark, Conflict with members of family. In Table 11, p. 72, the following are listed under "Types of Juvenile Sex Offenses": *Masturbation, excessive*; *Group affairs with girls*; and *heterosexual experiences*! The attitude toward such sexual manifestations becomes quite clear from the following quotations:

Healy and Bronner mention 25 per cent of their delinquents as practicing extreme masturbation, which implies that every fourth case was a serious masturbating problem. These figures serve to reflect the intensity of glandular and emotional excitement among early adolescents, and the great need for proper sex hygiene preparation of juveniles as a protection against still other and worse sex practices, such as appear in Table 11 (p. 71).

That 25 per cent of delinquents practice excessive masturbation is not surprising. But the psychiatrist should realize that these figures do not "reflect the intensity

of glandular and emotional excitement among early adolescents" (which means simply brushing aside the whole problem with a platitudinous statement) but the fact that these adolescents have been made incapable of normal, gratifying masturbation. What is really meant by "the great need for 'proper' sex hygiene preparation of juveniles against still other and 'worse' practices" becomes obvious from the following quotation from Rousseau's *Emile* (p. 73):

My son, there is no happiness without courage, nor virtue without struggle—by virtue is meant strength of will—this need arises with the awakening of the passions.

In other words, "proper sex hygiene" means the suppression of "the passions," of masturbation, by "strength of will." The author's own opinion on the subject is expressed as follows (p. 74):

Excessive masturbation should be prevented by redirection of the glandular and visceral energies into channels of vigorous muscular activity, by sports, competitive games, and athletics, as well as wholesome mental preoccupation with an abundance of social interaction.

So, it is a matter of "glandular and visceral energies." This would imply that it is a matter of normal energies which should have a normal outlet. But no. They should be "redirected" into non-glandular and non-visceral activities, sports, competitive games and "wholesome mental preoccupation." That excessive masturbation should be prevented, is, of course, correct. But not because it is a moral "evil" but because it is a symptom of unhealth. The only rational prevention can be the elimination of its cause. This is the inability of the adolescent to have a normal discharge of these "glandular and visceral," that is, sexual energies.

The author's comment on "Group Affairs with Girls" is the following (p. 76): "These occurred in only 3 cases of the

primary group, and in none of the mixed group. They were of the mild petting and inspecting nature, and occurred in a group of children on a roof adjoining a school." He fails to state the "offensive" nature of these activities.

As to *Heterosexual Experiences*, these "include instances of sexual intercourse with adolescent girls and women and occurred in 12 cases of the primary group, or 11.1 per cent, and in 11 cases, or 7.4 per cent, of the mixed group." The attitude toward such occurrences is one of horror. The author goes on to say, "Rousseau (who from his own life's experience must have known) declares, in his classic treatise *Emile*, that 'his horror of adultery and debauch keeps him at a distance from prostitutes and married women, and the disorders of youth may always be traced to one or the other.'"

As to the *Causes of Sex Delinquency*, the author finds that "the findings of the study warrant the axiomatic conclusion that no trait, or combination of traits, operates as a specific cause of juvenile sexual delinquency. A variety of causes, of both extrinsic and intrinsic origin, are elicited from the case records" (p. 80).

"Most significant among the extrinsic or determining causes are lack of proper guidance in sex hygiene and inadequate protection of children by parents" (p. 80). As we have already seen, what is meant by "proper guidance in sex hygiene" is sexual suppression pure and simple.

"Puberty is the most important of the intrinsic causes," continues the author! "Puberty thus strongly contributes to the commission of sex offenses, but, without benefit of extrinsic factors, the force of puberty would not of itself eventuate in the commission of the sexually delinquent act" (p. 81). This sounds like double-talk. Of course, puberty, by itself, if undisturbed, would lead to the establishment of a normal adult sex life. What makes this impossible and leads, instead, to neuroses,

crime and perversions, is what is here called "extrinsic factors." What this array of "extrinsic factors" comes down to is, of course, sexual suppression in all its various forms, which makes a healthy sexual development impossible. The mention of this fact, however, is carefully avoided.

In view of this moralistic, antisexual approach to the problem, one would not expect much of a constructive conclusion from this study. Yet, the conclusions are so incredible that they have to be extensively quoted.

"A highly significant indication of this investigation," writes the author (p. 168 ff.), "is that male juvenile sex delinquency is self-curing, provided the latent forces of shame and guilt, inherent in the moral-cultural pattern, are properly stimulated into action. Under such circumstances a boy's mental faculties are shaken to their very foundation, strong reservoirs of shame are dislodged from attachment to the inactive memories of infantile rectal and bladder control days, and powerful self-generating barriers against recidivism are laid down in the personality, which effectively and lastingly resist a return to sexual offenses. This seems to occur regularly when a sex offense is exposed to a boy's family in the open process of a juvenile court and clinic hearing. No other conclusion seems possible from the outcomes, and the following substantiating findings. Thus, it is common observation for aggressive and calloused juvenile offenders to employ various excuses and defenses in attempts to justify even the most violent general offenses; yet never has a boy appeared in the clinic who sought to *justify* a sexual offense, however insignificant."

The author illustrates by the case of an 8-year-old boy who said: "Why shouldn't I steal the bicycle? Why should the other kid have a bicycle and me not? He's no better than I am. Why, look at Russia. There everyone is given the same things. What about the bankers, where do you

think they get their money? They steal it, that's how they get rich. Look at all of them that's been caught and sent to jail." This same boy, however, "when faced with a petty sex situation on a later day, figuratively melted away. There was not a sign of defiance in his manner or speech. There was no berating of the community as unfair, nor any attempt to justify his act. . . . He felt exposed and stripped of all protection, even that of his parents, who themselves now were gravely concerned over the disgrace to the family and what the neighbors and relatives might think if they should learn of their son's 'depravity.'"

"The success of the court and clinic contact in checking sexual recidivism," the author continues, "does not arise from the direct influence of these agencies, but rather from the circumstance that they effectively serve to provoke into action the *internal self-curing processes of shame and guilt*. The precise value of the court in the process rests in its facilities for an impressive exposure of the sex offense to the mind of the boy, with members of the family and strangers about, in the open court procedure, with the addition of the benefits derived from psychiatric reorientation by the clinic. These measures seem to provide the fullest opportunity for arousal of the strong latent currents of shame and guilt, which, with little outside assistance, thereafter can continue to operate within the ego and superego, as a continual fortification of the individual against sexual recidivism."

"The study thus successfully brings to light previously unknown basic principles that should prove valuable in the treatment of boy sex offender cases by others besides the courts. Any close approximation of the conditions above postulated, on the part of community psychiatric practitioners, agency workers, or even parents, would probably meet with similarly good results."

Under the heading "Treatment" the author states the following:

"The findings indicate that juvenile sexual offenders should preferably be brought to court and into the court clinic, in order that they may obtain lasting benefits from maximum stimulation of the inherent self-curing potentialities of shame and guilt, . . . and every effort should be made to institute effective measures that will arouse an adequate response of guilt and shame in the boy, as a means of laying down permanent deterrents in his mind against recidivism."

Freud has shown that neuroses, perversions and sexual crimes result from sexual repression, from the shame and guilt about sexuality which is instilled in children and adolescents. Could it be that the author, an experienced psychiatrist, is ignorant of these facts? He is not. For on p. 178 f. we read the following statement which, in the context of this book, strikes one as rather surprising:

We adults, through our own stupid system of so-called social and economic cultural progress, not only rob the adolescent of his natural right to function as a mature male upon reaching puberty, by surrounding him with laws, taboos, fears, guilts, and restrictions that spell for him sexual inhibition until he is old enough to satisfy our conventional concept of marital responsibility (which is usually at an age past 25) but we lack the decency even to provide him with the needed understanding of his sex functions, so that he may at least achieve a reasonable artificial adjustment to his enforced celibacy. In the manner of ostriches, we make no visible recognition of his sex problems, his visceral cravings, not even his simple need of enlightenment and guidance, by which he might bear his sexual abstinence less stressfully, and view his urge to the substitute sex gratification of masturbation, which comes spontaneously to every boy, in the proper light of control and sublimation, instead of with a plagued mind, guilt, misgivings, misunderstandings, hate, and in terms of stray bits of street information.

So, the author is aware of our "stupid system of so-called social and economic progress," of the fact that we "rob the adolescent of his natural right to function as a mature male upon reaching puberty," of the fact that, "in the manner of ostriches, we make no visible recognition of his sex problems, his visceral cravings." And yet, he proposes a systematic "arousal of the strong latent currents of shame and guilt."

That such a procedure may in fact reduce recidivism of sexual delinquency cannot be doubted. But it is a more than dubious procedure. There are two basically different methods of handling antisocial sexual drives and activities: self-regulation, and moral regulation. *Self-regulation* would require the exactly opposite procedure of that proposed by the author: the adolescent has to be *freed from* his guilt feelings and sexual anxieties, he has to become capable of an adult genital life or at least able to masturbate without guilt feelings and with satisfaction. Then, when his primary sexual drive is satisfied, he will no longer develop secondary, perverse and antisocial sexual drives.

The other procedure, that of *moral regulation*, works on the opposite principle, that of re-inforcing the existing feelings of guilt and shame and of instilling new ones. True, this may have the effect of reducing recidivism, but at a horrible cost, that of *psychic castration*. An adolescent who becomes sexually delinquent is already sick. If re-inforcing his feelings of guilt and shame reduces recidivism, it does so only because such treatment has made a *sexual cripple* of the adolescent.

If the author, in spite of his knowledge of the disastrous effects of sexual repression, nevertheless advocates such a procedure, it can only be because he finds himself in a dilemma: As a physician he knows that the adolescent should be freed of his guilt feelings and that he has a "natural right to function as a mature male upon reaching puberty." But apparently as

the psychiatrist of the City's Children's Courts he cannot say so. In that position, he takes the side of society, of what he himself calls "our stupid system of so-called social and economic cultural progress," as against the adolescent who is in dire need of help.

So it comes to pass that Freud's discoveries are put in the service not of the patient, but of sex-negating and sex-suppressing society. This utilization of the knowledge of the mechanisms of suppression, of shame and guilt, has for many years characterized psychoanalytic pedagogy.

In his preface, the author states:

An important field of social concern has seemingly been neglected. In line with this are the pointed remarks of an outstanding exponent of child guidance work: "I don't understand sex delinquency. Nobody understands sex delinquencies. Some day we may . . ." (W. Healy), and also the

more recent remarks of a noted sex authority: "In our present state of ignorance with regard to sexual matters . . ." (G. W. Henry). Evidently psychoanalysis has not fully supplied the answer on the subject of sex, as many have been led to believe.

One cannot agree with these statements. Psychoanalysis *has* supplied the basic answers to the problem, and Reich's sex-economy has expanded and amplified them, particularly with the clarification of the primary and secondary drives. It is not true that "nobody understands sex delinquencies." The knowledge is there. One can no longer hide behind "our present state of ignorance with regard to sexual matters." It is no longer a matter of acquiring the knowledge, but a matter of drawing *the correct practical conclusions* from this knowledge. That, however, takes a more than ordinary degree of honesty and courage.

T. P. WOLFE

## A. S. NEILL'S "THE PROBLEM TEACHER"

Editor's note: *This continues the excerpts published in vol. 1, 1942, pp. 180-184, 282-288, and in vol. 2, 1943, pp. 198-204.*

## HEAD AND HEART IN THE SCHOOL

There are broadly two ways of looking at a class of children. One is to see a group of heads: the other is to see a group of hearts. That the teacher usually sees only the heads is not his own fault. The system believes in heads and he has to work within the system. His only concern is with that part of the anatomy extending from the neck upwards.

It is unnecessary for me to give proof of the interest in heads, for the blackboards and textbooks afford all the proof needed. What is more important is to give proof of the absence of interest in hearts. Let us take an imaginary example—John Smith, aged fourteen, sitting at a desk. Let us ask his teacher what he knows of John Smith. The answer might be something like this:

"Oh, Smith? Not a bad chap, but inclined to be lazy. Careless worker and very untidy especially with written work. But I admit he is good at geography and is keen on it. Bit of a nuisance in class: you know, distracts the attention of the others. Arithmetic fair to middling; reading dreadful; drawing not so bad, but his spelling is unbelievably bad."

Such a reply tells us nothing of any importance about Smith. It is unlikely that his teacher could answer these questions about him:

What about his home life? Has he brothers and sisters, and if so how does he get on with them? Or with his parents? Do they lecture him or punish him? Are they religious? Do they quarrel? Have they favorites in the family? What does John know about sex? Does he masturbate with a guilty conscience?

Do you know anything about his ambi-

tions and his daydreams? What fears does he have . . . animals, the dark, death? Is he sincere in his attitude to life, or is he a little hypocrite? Have you asked him what he would do if he had a hundred pounds? Have you tested his values by asking him questions like this: Who is more important, a doctor or a soldier? Jesus or Napoleon?

I could think of a hundred further questions for his teacher. It is obvious that my questions go much deeper than any questions about ability in lessons, obvious that they deal with heart and not head, obvious, too, that they would interest John profoundly. They would touch the real John, not the shell of the classroom.

I want to see every school a place in which every teacher knows the essential things about every child, that is has an emotional interest in the emotions of every child. There is a difference between talking to and talking with, between being in front of a class and being in a class. You cannot see anything from the teacher's desk.

It should be made possible for every teacher to have frequent contact with each child individually, sitting face to face as friends in a private room. The tragedy of many a child's life is that he has no one to confide in. His parents are not the people, for there is an emotional barrier between parents and child; if he has not the chance to confide in his teacher there is no one else he can go to. Here I am taking it for granted that his teacher is not an authority to be feared, not one who is considered a detective by the child. The least touch of authority or dignity in a teacher makes it impossible for him or her to help

a child in any emotional difficulty. You cannot address a man as "Sir" and confess your troubles to him.

Nor should the teacher be an adviser. His role should be a receptive one, that of a sympathetic listener. I do not say that he should be completely negative. If John Smith confessed to me that his conscience was worrying him because he stole a packet of fags from an automatic machine with a dud foreign coin, I should be inclined to smile and tell him about similar ventures in my own life, not in order to console him, but only to convince him that he was talking to a fellow sinner, that is, talking to an equal and not to a top-hatted superior. Guessing that his stealing was the result of unhappiness I should then encourage him to tell me about his home life and his feeling of being unloved or unjustly treated. Here any moral attitude would be fatal. If a teacher said: "But, John, it is your duty to love your brother," or a similar platitudinous inanity, the emotional reaction of the boy to his teacher would be a hate one, and his chance of progress would be much lessened.

It is so necessary to realise that you cannot teach anything of value by speaking. This is so true of moral education . . . "But, dear, surely you must know that your sister feels pain when you hit her with that stick." . . . "But don't you know it is wrong to steal?" . . . (or worst of all) "God does not love little boys who pull the cat's whiskers." Such remarks never cure the child; they make him more defiant. At the same time I do not say that these remarks have no effect at all; unfortunately they sink into the unconscious and their cumulative effect is to make a personality that hates life. The law makes the crime, and morality makes the sin.

Am I asking too much of the teacher? I don't think so; all I ask is that he makes the effort to understand the child, to side with the child, always to be on his side. I am asking the teacher to belittle symp-

toms and seek for root causes. It is a hard and difficult task; it will have successes and failures, because sometimes the root cause of a trouble is beyond the help of the teacher.

I contend that every teacher in every school should know as much about each child as I have to know in Summerhill. After all I have 75 of them, more than any State school class, but I confess to the advantage of having them in the school all the time. The disadvantage of this is the price I pay in noise and nerve strain for the privilege of living always with children. I confess too that my time is not compulsorily devoted to teaching lessons and correcting exercise books. It must be stated, however, that if my ideals of education were the usual ones, I could and would spend my life worrying about reading and writing . . . and heads.

Now the truth is that a great number of teachers agree with the point of view I am now putting forward, especially the younger teachers. They too see the shallowness of head education, and they burn to reform the schools. Some of them come to me in despair crying: "We can't do anything. The Headmaster won't let us move; the Code impels us to deal only with heads; the classroom is a prison."

The teaching profession badly needs an organized Left Wing. Its official National Union of Teachers is not good enough for the new generation of teachers . . . There is the New Education Fellowship which attempts to be an organisation of teachers who want progress, and it does good work. Of late, however, it has tended to be respectable and liberal rather than revolutionary. It never invites me to take part in its conferences because I am "too revolutionary." That I do not mind, for conferences are things I dislike intensely, but it shows how the N.E.F. wind is blowing these days. To me it is a hopeful sign that requests for my lectures come mainly from local branches of the N.U.T., and in all

these lectures I find an interest and enthusiasm which is a joy to me.

The organizing of a Left Wing association would not be easy in a profession that is scattered so far and wide. The best way might be to organize first of all something in the nature of the Left Book Club. If any publisher cared to risk the venture I, for one, would gladly help on the editorial committee . . . This Book Club would ignore completely everything connected with teaching methods and subjects. It would have its weekly magazine which would deal only with psychology, sociology, and sexology. Much space would be given to answering questions sent in by readers, and unknown readers would be urged to send in contributions. . . . The motto of the Club would have to be: No compromise. Life and sex would be dealt with openly and sincerely, although there would be some danger in this, for we are only allowed to deal with sex in a pornographic way as in the music halls.

One enormous difficulty would be to keep the Club clean. I mean by that, keep it clear of cranks and neurotics. Any society that deals with sex is apt to attract many of the wrong sort of people, the unconscious homosexuals and voyeurs and exhibitionists. We should have to fight hard to keep out the man with a bee in his bonnet or a Charles the First's head under his arm. We are all potential dangers. At the moment if I were in control of such a club I might be inclined to over-emphasize the importance of Reich's psychology, while another man might concentrate on Freud or Adler or Krishnamurti or Rudolf Steiner. We should have to seek truth amid a multitude of theories and beliefs, but we could not be too broad-minded: we could not accept a book on, say, *The Benefits of Scientific Flogging*.

The purpose of such an organization would be to concentrate on the heart instead of the head. It would begin to bring education to where it belongs—the uncon-

scious of the child. It would give teachers a direction into a province that has been too long neglected, and it would enable them to see in perspective the bleak landscape of desk schools.

#### THE TEACHER AND SOCIETY

I can hear a young teacher say: "What the devil does social status matter?" I am afraid that it matters a lot, especially in small towns and country districts. The teacher in London can be content in his own social status; he is not compelled to feel himself an inferior; his life is not open to all; he can associate with whom he likes. Snobbery isn't being continually thrust upon him. He is lucky in comparison with the teacher in the small town. The latter knows that socially he is a nobody, and having no opportunity of mixing in a class of his own, he is almost forced to measure himself against the local people who form society. He can have no freedom in his life; he must always behave respectably. The London bachelor or spinster teacher can live "in sin" without fear of discovery, but the village teacher dare not be seen giving the glad eye to a barmaid, why it is difficult to understand, for socially he is not considered very high above the barmaid. There are few people who can get away from class distinction. None of us can get completely free from it. . . . Snobbery is like religion: if you get it young you can never get rid of the poison.

It can scarcely be denied that the teaching profession is of greater importance than any of the other professions. The teacher should be a pillar of society, and if he should have no dignity his profession ought to have. There are no teacher peers, no baronets; I never heard of even a teacher knight. No self-respecting teacher would want to have a title or accept one if it were offered to him. The point is that a title is not offered to him because he is not considered valuable enough. In a world of successful motor manufacturers

and brewers the honor goes to the people who matter most. To use a military simile, the business men are like commissioned officers while the teachers are like non-commissioned officers.

I can imagine what kind of a speech some of the younger men could make if they were in the position of the president of the National Union of Teachers. I am not a young man myself, but I should like to give a presidential address like this:

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I have chosen for my presidential address the subject of Truth. I want to make you ask yourselves the question: How much truth is in education? Or the cognate question: Are we living a lie?

I say we are. We have charge of the next generation and we are giving it the lies of our own generation. We are not doing this deliberately; we are doing it because we have never really thought deeply about education. We have not had the power to look ahead; our horizon has been a severely limited one.

Let us make this concrete. Today (1939) we see the nations arming to the teeth. At any moment the world may be plunged in an inferno of despair and terror and agony. It seems highly probable that millions of children sitting in schools today will be killed. When the war is finished what is left of humanity will be faced with the herculean task of building up a new kind of civilization. It will be one that will differ from the present one in many ways; its most probable form will be universal Socialism. Fascism cannot in the end win because it belongs to the old way of life, to profit and class distinction, and imperialistic conquest. It puts the clock back.

The pupils of our schools, those who survive, will build the new world. Are we doing anything to prepare them for this task? What will our little lessons on school subjects do to help them to a new life? Will their silly little examination successes

help them to endure the misery they may first have to face? Will that iniquity, home lessons, help to make them conscientious citizens of a new world?

Teachers, if we really believed in truth we should stand together and strike down this system of playing at education. We should train the young to be citizens by allowing them to be free citizens now. When a boy of seven was stealing, our Summerhill citizens government passed a law that he be compelled to steal something every day, else he would be fined his pocket-money. That was citizenship with psychological understanding, citizenship far removed from that of adults who punish by birch or prison. Such children can face a new world with a new spirit, a new orientation to social behavior.

How can we allow children freedom to make the new world when our ruling class decrees what we should teach and how we should discipline? You know you are not free. The mere fact that you have to celebrate Empire Day shows how unfree you are. Empire Day, the celebration of centuries of imperialism, of the kind of robbery that we so violently condemned when applied to Abyssinia by Italy. Empire Day when the millions of India are underfed slaves, when millions of African natives are dispossessed of their lands and freedom. If you are reasonably honest you must realize that you are celebrating a lie, the lie that a nation can be great and just when only the few benefit and the vast majority are exploited at home and abroad.

Teachers, it is your urgent duty to see that the children have the opportunity to see what is behind the pomp and pageantry of Empire. You dare not let them know only the *Daily Mail* side of life, the history book side of life. Don't waste your time with decimal fractions and similar futilities; tell the children what society means, what is behind what they see.

I am asking you to be one-sided because you have so many rival teachers who, like

the devil, have all the best tunes. Most of your pupils go to the cinema. In the news reels they see the superficial side of life—the tanks rolling by, royalty smiling graciously, the prime minister alighting from a Munich aeroplane. The news reel is in its cinema and all's right with the world.

Then they see the capitalistic society story feature, nearly always one where the scene is laid in high society. Only a sincere actress like Luise Rainer would dare to hide her beauty in the rags of *The Good Earth*. Your children see love stories that end in an eternal marriage, played by actors and actresses who change their mates by divorce every few months. They see love scenes that arouse in them sexual emotions that they dare not allow expression in society. They see perverted history as in the film *Victoria the Great* when the corn laws are repealed because the dear old queen was so sorry for the poor. They see a film like *The Shape of Things to Come*, where H. G. Wells makes woman a mere cipher, seeking only love, and where he leaves out the working people. About the only true pictures they see are the Disney Cartoons.

Now the influence of the cinema is greater than that of the school, for the reason that what it acquired through pleasurable emotions has a much stronger and deeper effect on a child than what is acquired in a dull classroom. While you are teaching dull subjects the world outside is educating the children, and educating them in the wrong way. Your arithmetic and history do not give the children a standard of life, but the films do—the soul-destroying standard of Hollywood with its individualism in the center of butlered houses and expensive clothes.

By refusing to face the problem of sex in children, you drive them to the tender mercies of the enemies of life—the preachers and the moralists, so that the future adult is faced with two influences pulling different ways—the ego-centric luxury of

film life, and the ego-centric aim to save his own soul.

Teachers, cannot you see that your whole system is out of date? That your school subjects do not touch the life of today? Children learn to read and when they leave school they have no standard of reading; they learn to count and most of them will never have more than their wages to count; they learn of countries they will never see, and they study languages they will never use.

Why do you not teach them what is going on around them? They should know in detail why there is an army of unemployed; they should know what industry means and why the many are poor; they should be told what forces are behind the war-mongering and imperialism of the world. But teaching what will make for good citizenship is not enough. You must kick away all the shackles that bind children, the discipline, the fear, the passivity. You can really only learn by doing, and one public meeting in a school, where every child can speak fearlessly, is worth a hundred talks on citizenship.

Teachers, your job is not in the school; it is in society. Often a kindergarten teacher will say to me: "My children are happy and free and busy all day long, but next year the bigger ones will have to pass on to the desk schools, and it breaks my heart to think that they have this free system for a short time, only to pass into the horrible mill of sedentary desk work and discipline." But, teachers, you are all in such a position; however faithfully you teach, however freely you teach, your children are destined for the mill of industrialism. Really you are in very much the same situation as the man who rears pigs for slaughter, but his is the more honest job. Pigs are at least scientifically fed, while your pupils are unproductively spoon-fed with indigestible hash.

You have the unconscious feeling that education stops at the age of fifteen. I have

said you cannot see the end of your work, yet it is essential that you should. A school should be a place to which old pupils return eagerly and often. It cannot be so long as teachers take the short and narrow view that their job is teaching the alphabet of life's language.

It is not for me to tell you how to alter matters. That is for your social conscience to decide. I can, however, make a suggestion—that you demand to play your part in the emotional life of your pupils and of the world. Thinking, like Nurse Cavell's patriotism, is not enough; the intellectual training of the classroom is not enough. Your job is to get hold of the emotions of the children before the Cinema and the church and the racecourse and the football field win them for ever. Teach the Three R's by all means, but insist on spending most of the time in emotional creative activity. If your children can write and act their own plays I do not say that they won't go to the cinema, but I do say that they will go with a decided standard of their own, go with the critical eye of the artist who writes plays. If they have ample time to play football they will not later be so ready to stand as thousands do content to watch a game. In Norway you will find huge crowds go to watch a jumping or slalom competition, but the crowd is on skis.

If your children are not taught that love is wicked, the lure of the sex appeal film will tend to make conscious their sexual misery, and the morbid compulsion to stare at beautiful screen actresses will disappear.

And if their school life is full of happy creation they will not tacitly accept the factory slavery that awaits most of them. They will have to tolerate it for economic reasons, but their emotional freedom will make them work to better their class's conditions.

Naturally if you demand that creation should be the chief factor in the school you will find yourselves up against the

powers that rule you. They are not afraid of what the workers know; they are afraid of what the workers might be. Do not make the mistake of undervaluing your masters. They are wise old birds even though much of their wisdom is unconscious.

Now if you were all united, if you could go in a body to the rulers and say: "We are making our own schemes of education, and we are amending the timetable so that emotional education will come first," your rulers will not require to think this out; they will know, as if by instinct, that there is a danger in your scheme, although consciously they may be quite unaware of the reason why they believe so. Their objection will soon crystallise into rationalisations . . . What! we don't want artists and dancers and writers in our mills and offices. The idea is absurd. Will ten years of drawing and acting make a girl an efficient typist? God knows that the present education is bad enough . . . I can't ever get an apprentice who can spell decently . . . but we do not want a generation of illiterates who can only dance or play games.

To be fair to capitalism it must be said that something like this happened in Russia. It set out with a great gesture of educational freedom, with self-government, creation galore; then gradually it changed; the State said in effect: This is all very well, but we are in a hurry to build up a socialist civilization; we need skilled workers—engineers, teachers, doctors, managers, and we cannot afford to risk the slow process of complete freedom.

Some of you may be doubtful about the importance of emotion. Believe me, and I speak from a long experience, if you educate the emotions the intellect will look after itself. When a boy loses his guilty conscience about masturbation he always learns his lessons more easily and willingly. I use this illustration because, strictly speaking, one cannot educate the

emotions; the most one can do is to try to destroy the bonds that have tied up emotion and changed it into guilt and hate. All you can do is to furnish outlets for emotion, and these outlets should be material rather than human. It is better for a child to be creatively emotional in painting a picture than destructively emotional in hating his teacher, but, if schools had a complete apparatus for emotional outlet on material, hating the teacher would disappear.

Apart from your work altogether you must find your own social freedom. No, that is false: you will find social freedom when you make your work a creative thing worth living for. Your social status will rise as your work status rises. So long as you produce slaves you will be slaves.

Here I want to speak to youth. The world has seen hierarchies, patriarchal and matriarchal rule. Today patriarchal rule is dominant, and it looks as if it were to commit suicide. Is it not possible to substitute for it a rule of youth? Are you content with a state of society that makes a man of seventy its prime minister? That expresses surprise if a man of forty gets a cabinet post? Are you on the side of the old men of Transport House or of the young men of the shops rank and file? It is a question you must face. But to face it squarely and frankly you will have to challenge the conventional view that old men are wiser than you are. It is a lie, a flaming lie, a lie founded on the belief that youth is hot-headed and acts and thinks afterwards, while age is calm and thinks before it acts . . . and usually does not act at all. Ah, but age has had experience!

Here is an excerpt from *Lady Windermere's Fan*.

Lord Darlington. You talk as if you were a man of experience.

Cecil Graham. I am.

Lord Darlington. You are far too young.

Cecil Graham. That is a great error.

Experience is a question of instinct about life. I have got it. Tuppy hasn't. Experience is the name Tuppy gives to his mistakes. That is all.

Oscar Wilde was a cynic, but he sometimes went deeper than perhaps he knew. Experience is not a matter of age . . . one can see that in the faces of the children of Barcelona when one compares them with those of children who never knew terror. A guttersnipe boy in London could buy and sell a rustic six times his age. No, age uses its experience to keep the young down, for it fears youth and hates youth. "Children should be seen and not heard" summed up the philosophy of patriarchal society. Unfortunately it also sums up a lot of so-called education at school and at the university. It is a rotten system in which the teacher asks all the questions, and I have every sympathy with the boy who wondered why his teacher asked him the capital of China, since presumably he, the teacher, knew it already. This boy always makes me think of the school cleaner, who, seeing the words, "Find L.C.M." written on the blackboard, cried: "Haven't they found that damned thing yet? They were looking for it when I was a boy." I think both stories contain a fine criticism of education, and I have the feeling that a collection of school stories would make an excellent indictment of our system, for those who could read between the lines.

Teacher should be seen and not heard. That is really your position in society today, those of you who are young. More than half of you young teachers are prevented from teaching in the way you want. And why? Because your schools are ruled by the old men and women. I want to see you young teachers demanding self government for school staffs. I am on the verge of being an old man myself, but I have never once interfered with my staff or told them how I wanted them to teach. When they make the timetable at the

commencement of each term I am never there, partly I admit because I have so little interest in timetables and teaching, but mainly because I feel that they know their own job best. True I have the power to engage a teacher or to dismiss one, for I also am in the way of being a capitalist and an individualist, so that when some members of the staff proposed that the school be changed into a co-operative one, where all were equal, I refused to do so on the ground that I had planned and created the school, and had to retain the ultimate control of policy.

Here you will no doubt be inclined to say: You don't practice what you preach: you tell us to demand self-determination, but in your own school you approve of the rule of the Old Man. I admit the justness of the criticism; I grant that here you have the clinging to power of the Old Man. I constitute the ruling class in my school and like all ruling classes I want to remain master of the situation.

Yet, you know, I have a defense, one, perhaps that is a rationalization like most defenses of autocracy. There is a difference between my school and your schools. You have no choice. Your living depends on your serving the State, and working in the manner that the State demands. My staff come to me freely; they are men and women who prefer to work in freedom for a salary that is a bad fraction of the salary they could get under the Burnham Scale. They are free to live their own lives without pretense, free to love as they like, free to do as much political work as they want to, free to dress as they wish, free to teach as they like.

Most salient of all they believe in the work they are doing, and have no occasion to kick against the pricks. They accept sincerely the psychological policy of the school; they believe in school self-government, in complete freedom to attend or stay away from lessons, in the psychological treatment of behavior in the case

of stealing or bullying or destructiveness.

The wish to make the school a co-operative one comes from the most politically conscious of the staff, the socialist element. Naturally they want educational Communism in the school, a communal responsibility. And, you know, they are right, for the future belongs to co-operation. The days of the one man show are passing, and, frankly, Summerhill is a one-man show in this, that prospective parents do not consider my staff when they apply for a prospectus; they apply because they have read my books, and they ask for me when they visit the school. I am always hearing the criticism: "The fault of schools like Summerhill is that they depend on one man's personality and views. Look at the Little Commonwealth: it depended entirely on Homer Lane's personality."

This should not be. And fundamentally is not true. Personalities are important only because they are what you might call milestones on a new road. Their personality does not make the movement; the movement calls forth the personality. Hitler did not make Nazism; it made him. My own work could never have been attempted had I not been influenced by a movement that had men like Homer Lane, Freud, Stekel, Reich, E. F. O'Neill, Edmond Holmes, MacMunn and many others. Personalities are only the scouts of a progressive army, and even when scouts die the army marches on, sending out new scouts. I know that in fifty years my name will be writ in water, but I know that education will have marched far ahead by then.

My view is that movements spring up in the unconscious of the people, so that it is possible to find outcroppings of the new in Europe and America at the same time. In the past these outcroppings have been associated with individuals, but it is likely that in the future they will be associated with whole groups of people.

Today in the international situation we

are inclined to overestimate the value of personalities; the world waits breathlessly for the speeches of a Chamberlain, a Hitler, a Mussolini, a Roosevelt; they appear to have the power of life and death over the world. Yet they are mere puppets, mouthpieces of collective forces that they do not control, that control them. True, one of them can launch a bloody war at any moment, but, if a national leader died, the policy of his nation would go on inevitably to its end.

So it is in education. The upward movement goes on, and the Neills of life are not leaders; they are being led. In the same way the diehards of education are being led, so that the battle is not one between Summerhill and a Public School; it is one between a moving force and a static force, between progress and tradition. You young teachers are many of you unwilling conscripts in the army of tradition, and your eyes are turned to the banners of the new order.

But beware of waiting for a leader. Only the backward forces follow a leader, and in any case the Promised Land is never reached; the tragedy of the leader is that his aims are always negated by the mass desire . . . There is no end to progress, no Ultima Thule. "It is better to travel than to arrive." Stevenson was profound when he wrote these words. Wilde puts the same thought differently . . . "In this world there are only two tragedies. One is not getting what one wants, and the other is getting it. The last is much the worst; the last is a real tragedy."

Ideals are only dangerous because they are fixed. I sometimes feel I could sell my soul to play golf like Henry Cotton, realizing all the time that, if I could, I should no doubt want to be able to sing like Paul Robeson. No man should ever arrive. Must we then set out on our journey without an aim? Oh, no, but our aim should be the next milestone . . .

I can imagine a youth movement in your

ranks leading a campaign to convert parents to your views, meeting them on every possible occasion, and trying to show them your standpoint. To begin with you might try to enlighten them on the subject of child psychology. Millions of fathers and mothers are ignorant of child nature. They have never thought about education, have accepted it as they accept religion or class rule or poverty. I talked to a group of working mothers not long ago, and was most agreeably surprised at their interest and understanding. Some of them had been spanking their children automatically, and were genuinely astonished to learn that there were other ways of keeping discipline in the home.

Then you could try to make the parents aware of the political aspects of education, showing them how inadequate a school education is, how in the narrow sense of preparing for life it is a failure.

At the same time you should fight to give your profession self-determination, and to begin with you might start a campaign against inspection of schools. I have never heard practicing lawyers and clergymen have government inspectors who appear at odd moments to see whether they are doing their work properly. Teachers are on a level with bus conductors. Every time an inspector asks me for my tram or bus ticket I feel that humanity is degraded, for his one function is to discover whether the workers are cheating the company or not; the inspector is the super-symbol of man's distrust of his fellow men. And, camouflage it how we will, the inspector of schools is a spy, a licensed Nosey Parker . . . He is very often, perhaps always, appointed on his academic qualifications; he may know nothing whatsoever about child psychology, nothing about economics. Possibly he may know so much about educational theory that he is incapable of realizing that there should be no educational theory. He may never have taught a class in his life . . . An in-

spected profession cannot help having the social status of tram conductors, and the timid attitude to authority that every tram conductor must have. Many of you fear the arrival of the inspector; most of you must do. Those of you who have had a religious education will fear the inspector wholeheartedly, for to your unconscious he is the inspector of the Judgment Day.

The inspectorate constitutes a significant proof of the wrongness of schooling. You can examine a class in arithmetic which does not matter, but you cannot examine it in character or happiness which do matter . . .

Go on, young teachers. Fight for your freedom, your self respect. Until you get rid of inspectors you will be slaves and inferiors. Scorn the governmental help in methods of teaching; insist that, if any help is to be given, it shall be given by men and women who have something important to give. Let the government send round people who will help you to understand what children are, who will assist you to understand the many psychological problems in your classrooms. You don't need inspectors to tell you how to teach school subjects.

But, the doubter might say, what about the slack teacher? . . . Well, I once knew two village schools about three miles apart; one had a good teacher, the other a bad one. I never saw any evidence that the children from the good school succeeded any better in life than those from the bad one. At the same time I am willing to agree that it is better to have a good teacher than a bad one even when what they teach is not education. But the cure for bad teaching isn't inspection; it is a social conscience in the body corporate of teachers. It is more than this: it is a radical change in the content of education, a change that by making education creative will attract the men and women who are creative. Education today can attract the

dullard, because it is essentially work for dullards, for men who are content to teach by rote—robots in a machine-made world.

Ah, but behind the subjects is the real thing in education—the personality of the teacher! Yes, I grant that your personalities are of great importance for good or evil in the school. You can give out love or hate or fear, but as long as your profession is an inferior one you will be in danger of giving out more fear than love, because an inferior always has some fear coming from above—headmaster, inspector, local authority—and this fear is always shunted on to those who are inferior to you, the pupils . . . The motto over the gateway of every school should be: Casting Out Fear, because fear is the greatest curse of life. But only a fearless man can cast out fear, so that as a profession you should contend against all the forces that bring fear into your own lives.

In my daydreams I see the school as the center of the village or town, a club for children by day and for adults by night; a place where fathers and mothers can meet to talk or sing or dance, to work at their hobbies, to read books and magazines, to listen to lectures on all subjects, not only education. I would even give it a club license so that it could compete with the local public houses. It would be Liberty Hall by day and by night. The snag would be that the believers in uplift might wangle the control of it, and make it a higher life center with uplifting educational films instead of Charlie Chaplin, with dull lectures after the style of the lectures so often given in Rural Institutes. And the lady of the manor would have to be told that she could attend only as a unit in the village, and not as a leader of any kind. All dangers, however, would be capable of being faced and overcome by the combined social conscience of parents and teachers. The school would belong to the trio—children, parents, teachers.